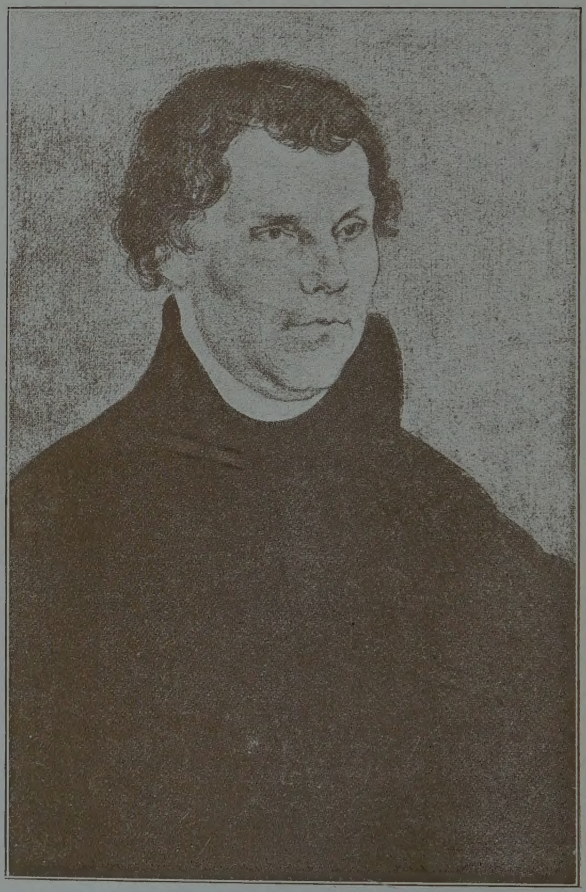
Doctor Martin Luther

Rex

REV. THEO. DeLANEY
LUTHERAN PASTOR FOR DEAF
SAN FRANCISCO CALIF.



DR. M. LUTHER.

After a painting by Cranach of 1543, engraved by F. W. Bolinger.

The
Life of Dr. Martin Luther

For the Christian Home

By

DR. M. REU

Professor at Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa

Done in English.

By

EMIL H. RAUSCH

Editor "*Lutheran Herald*"

NINETY-TWO ILLUSTRATIONS

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The Life of Dr. Martin Luther

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DR. M. REU

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FOREWORD.

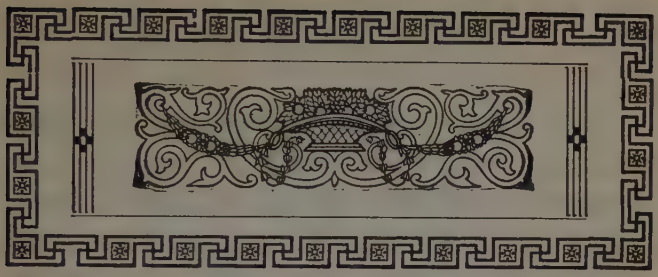
THE great Quadri-Centennial of the Reformation, which the Lutheran Church can not pass by without jubilation, even though the world war rage, will only then prove a lasting blessing if it stimulates our Lutheran people to study the great life work of Martin Luther. To assist this purpose we here offer the Christian home a brief presentation of the life and work of the great Reformer. The present edition differs from the former one issued at the beginning of the present year and intended for young people's societies (The Life of Dr. Martin Luther. Sketched for Young People's Societies and the Necessary Directions for General Discussion Appended. Done in English by E. H. Rausch) in so far that the questions added at the end of each chapter to facilitate the discussion have been omitted, two chapters largely changed and enlarged, and that many illustrations have been added. We trust that this latter fact especially will prove of real service to

our people, especially since many illustrations have been added which hitherto have been unknown in this country.

May the present illustrated edition receive as great a welcome as did the former cheaper edition.

M. Reu.

Dubuque, Iowa, June 25,
the Day of the
Augsburg Confession.



1. God Prepares the World for the New Era.

THE history of the world is divided into three great periods: the history of the ancient world (from the beginning of A.D. 476), the Middle Ages (A.D. 476-1492 or 1517), and modern times.

Thus also we differentiate between three great periods in the history of the Christian Church, namely, the early Church (from the foundation [Pentecost] to A.D. 600), the Middle Ages (A.D. 600-1517), the Church since the Reformation.

If there is one thing that stands out in bold relief it is this, that neither secular nor Church history is ruled by chance, but that in either Jesus Christ governs and leads all things to their goal as pre-determined by Him. Read Daniel 2, especially verses 37-45; Romans 11:33-36; Revelations 11:15; Philippians 2:9-11.

Even during the dark period of the Middle Ages, when the power of the pope was undisputed in Christendom, Christ did not forget His Church. Though darkness still covered the earth, Isaiah 60:2 was again to assert itself, for God is faithful. In the very midst of the night of popery God began His preparations for the new era.

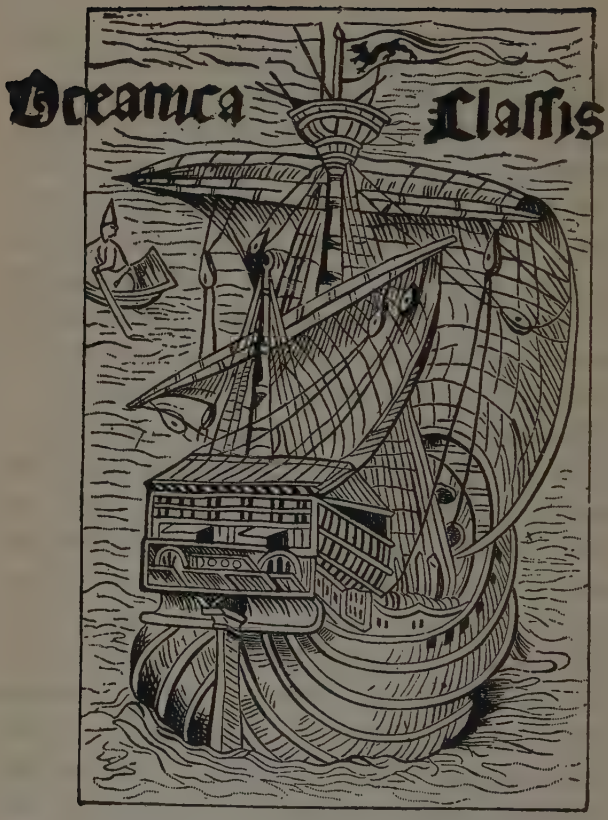
1.

He first showed amazed humanity the magnitude of the world in which His Gospel was to be preached. Two factors here worked together to accomplish this purpose. The first of these was the bringing together of the different parts of the world as known in those days into closer relation to each other. This was accomplished by trade, which had begun to flourish. Italian (Venice) and Portuguese (Lisbon) merchants imported silks, spices, and many other valuable products from the far East and placed them on the markets of the West. South-German merchants, especially from such cities as Augsburg, Nuernberg, and Strass-

burg, carried these selfsame products by overland routes from Italy to Germany. The ships of the Hanseatic cities (Bremen, Hamburg, Luebeck, Rostock, Danzig, Koenigsberg) exported the treasures of Germany, Scandinavia, and Russia, such as iron, wine, wax, hides, lard, furs, to England, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and Portugal. Thus God brought the countries of the old world into closest touch with each other.

The second of these factors was the paving of the way to new and hitherto unknown countries. The maps of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries present quite a different aspect from those of the present day. They showed Europe, northern Africa, and large parts of Asia. But the shape of northern Europe, northern, eastern, and southern Asia shaded off into the uncertain, and the great Asiatic island world, Australia and the South Seas, southern Africa, and the whole of the great American continent were unknown quantities.

Then God gave to the western world a new invention, the compass, either that it was brought from China by Italian mer-



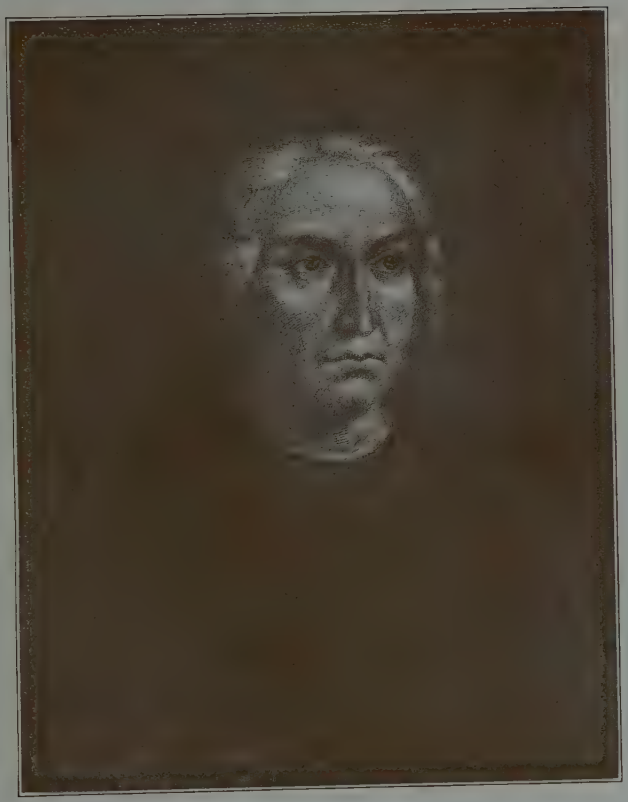
A SPANISH SAILING SHIP

From the time of the discovery of America.

chants or that it was invented in Italy (1302). This instrument enabled mariners to sail even over the most distant seas. Of course, this new invention encouraged them to steer boldly out into the ocean, this "sinister sea of darkness." The boldest of them all were the Portuguese, the undaunted masters of the seas in those days. Thus storm-driven and yet under divine guidance, Portuguese masters of sailing ships one day came upon the beautiful Madeira Islands (1419). Again in 1439 they discovered the Azores, and about 1450 Cape Verde and Sierra Leone. Bartholomew Dias, another Portuguese navigator, was driven by terrible storms beyond the southernmost point of Africa, and as he returned he sighted the Cape of Good Hope (about 1487). Vasco de Gama sailed still farther, and in 1498 completed the first trip to India by water. Albuquerque, 1509-1515, took possession of Malabar, Malacca, and other spots, and also discovered the Moluccas, or Spice Islands. Even the coast of Australia was sighted by Europeans before the close of the 16th century.

In order to reach East India men in those days were wont to use one of two ways. Either they chose the overland route by way of Asia Minor and Persia, or they sailed around the southern point of Africa. Columbus, too, meant to reach East India, but to do so by sailing westward directly over the Atlantic Ocean. He reasoned in this way: "If the earth is a globe, as we again believe and teach with the ancient Greeks, then I must be able to reach India by sailing toward the west." He found support with the king of Spain, and accordingly sailed from the Spanish port of Palos, August 3, 1492, pointing the prow of his caravel to the west. October 12 he landed on the island of Guanahani, which he called San Salvador. Soon afterward he also discovered Cuba and Hayti. Thus the discovery of an entirely new continent was well under way. Subsequent voyages brought him to the main land of South and Central America.

Cabral, a Portuguese, discovered Brazil in 1500, Cortez, a Spaniard, Mexico in 1519, and also Lower California. Another Portuguese, Fernando Magellan, sailed around



ALLEGED PORTRAIT OF CHRISTOPHER
COLUMBUS

the southern point of South America, and completed the first voyage around the world.

Thus God Himself opened the door and afforded astounded humanity a glimpse of the new world. The old and the new, the whole world was destined to hear the gospel, which was now again to be revealed to men through Martin Luther. The entire development of history merely serves God's purposes in His dealings with men.

2.

God thus prepared men for the Reformation by showing them the magnitude of the world in which His gospel should be preached. But God's preparations also included the old world itself, which must needs be, if the Reformation is to succeed. And this, too, God accomplished in His own way. Three distinct factors here stand out clearly. In the first place He deepened men's knowledge of the languages in which God's word was originally written by the prophets and apostles. The year 1453 marks the fall of Constantinople. The Turks captured this ancient city of Christendom and destroyed

the last remnant of the Greek Empire. On first glance this appears only as an unmitigated calamity. Yet God here, too, had His own thoughts. When the city and its surrounding territory became Turkish, and thus Mohammedan, the great Greek scholars of Constantinople fled to Italy, and here and throughout western Europe they gave rise to renewed scientific research. Men again began thoroughly to study Greek and ancient Roman literature and art. Of course much of paganism was thus introduced into the thoughts and lives of these men, but the study of the Greek language was also fostered in all higher institutions of learning. And Greek is the original language of the New Testament. During the entire Middle Ages men used the Latin translation of the Bible as authorized by the Church, but now their revived knowledge of the ancient Greek enabled them to read it in the original, and thus also to penetrate into its deeper meaning. Erasmus of Rotterdam, a great scholar, issued a Greek edition of the New Testament, 1516.

In Germany it was John Reuchlin who did

most for the study of Greek. But he was also a profound scholar of the Hebrew, taught him by a Jew. And Hebrew is the original language of the Old Testament. Thus through the workings of Providence the key to the original text of the entire Bible was again placed into the hands of men. Melanchthon, who later took a prominent part in the translation of the Bible into the German, was a pupil and friend of Reuchlin. By him he was recommended for the chair of Greek at the University of Wittenberg. Thus God paved the way for the great work of the Reformation.

In the second place God enabled Johann Gutenberg to invent the printing press, which gave the rediscovered gospel its wings for all lands. Hitherto books were copied by hand and thus multiplied, a wearisome and expensive procedure. To secure a copy of the Latin Bible entailed an outlay of 400-500 gold guilders. This accounts for the fact that before Gutenberg's day only a few wealthy persons could afford a Bible.

Of course, even prior to Gutenberg's time men had attempted to duplicate smaller

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SAN FRANCISCO CALIF.

writings, consisting of only a few pages, by means of wooden blocks into which whole



JOHANN GUTENBERG, THE INVENTOR OF THE ART OF PRINTING

pages had been carved. These were then impressed on paper. Gutenberg, at that



A PRINTING PRESS FROM THE YEAR 1520

time in Strassburg, however, invented movable type, linked them together by means of cords, inked them with ink or lampblack, and used them to print (1436). Later in Mainz, he perfected this method (1445). In partnership with Johann Fust (or Faust), a wealthy attorney, he built his first printing press. This was later perfected by Peter Schoeffer. The first greater work printed by Gutenberg was a Latin Bible. It could now be purchased for 30 gold guilders. But the inventors kept their art secret and also put their assistants under oath to maintain the secret, and the monks, who had thus far been the principal copyists, now found this splendid source of revenue largely drying up. As a result they denounced the new art a "black art," and claimed that Gutenberg was allied with the Devil.

But this, too, well accorded with God's will. Since his gospel had again been given to men through Luther, it must not be limited only to a small circle. It must go out into all the world. And Gutenberg's art must be its bearer. And, indeed, the rapid and marvelous success of Luther could

hardly have been possible without the ministration of the printing press. It carried his Theses of 1517 and his other writings with lightning speed throughout Germany and far beyond its confines, and put them into the hands of even the unlearned and simplest of men. Those who could not read themselves could have them read for them.

And finally God sent consecrated preachers and teachers and pious painters and through their ministry prepared at least some sections of society for the great work of the Reformation. Men like Johann von Goch, Johann Ruchrath von Oberwesel, Johann Wessel, the "Brethren of the Common Life" in general, pointed to the Scriptures, and emphasized the inner life in place of mere outer works. Thus they helped in general to elevate and place the home and school on a higher level. Writings of such men as Tauler, Thomas a Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," the sermons of Johann Geiler in Strassburg, and other writings of the day of similar nature, found a large circle of readers in Germany, and aided materially in paving the way for the Reforma-

tion. Many paintings also by great artists, such as the "Transfiguration of Christ" by Raphael (1483-1520), the "Last Supper," by Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), and to an even greater extent the paintings of German masters, such as Albrecht Duerer (1471-1528), breathe the evangelical spirit. Reproduced and distributed as they were in cheap wood cuts, they led many souls to Christ. If in addition to all this we bear in mind how souls were tortured in the compulsory confessional and with so-called works of penance, it is readily understood, why ever increasing numbers of good people rejoiced when the gospel of the free grace of God in Christ was proclaimed by Luther. It was the very gospel they had yearned after and sincerely sought for so long a time, but had not found.

Surely, everything bears evidence of God's careful preparations before He placed His saving work of the Reformation before men.



THE REFORMATION BY W. KAULBACH

The artist shows how all powers (science and art, music and painting, humanism and printing) have co-operated in bringing about a renaissance of a whole people during the 16th century, how on the other hand, Luther, with his open Bible, stood in the center of all the renewing powers.

2. Luther's Birth and Early Childhood.

1.

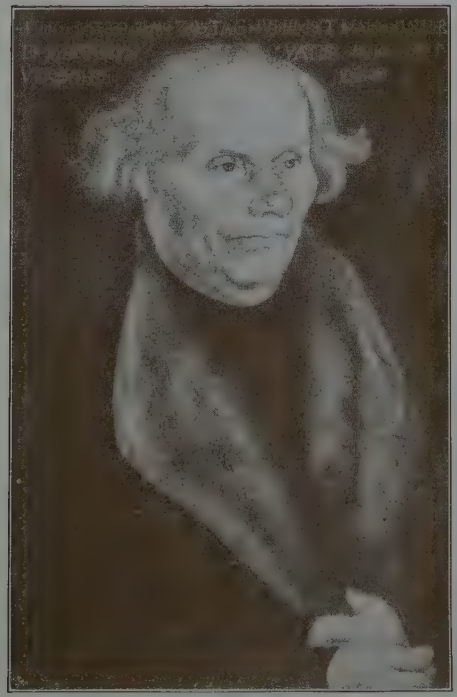
WHEN the crying of the children of Israel during the days of their bondage in Egypt came to the Lord God, the Lord Himself prepared His instrument through whom He would lead His people out of Egypt and begin the new era of salvation. He chose the son of Amram and Jochebed.

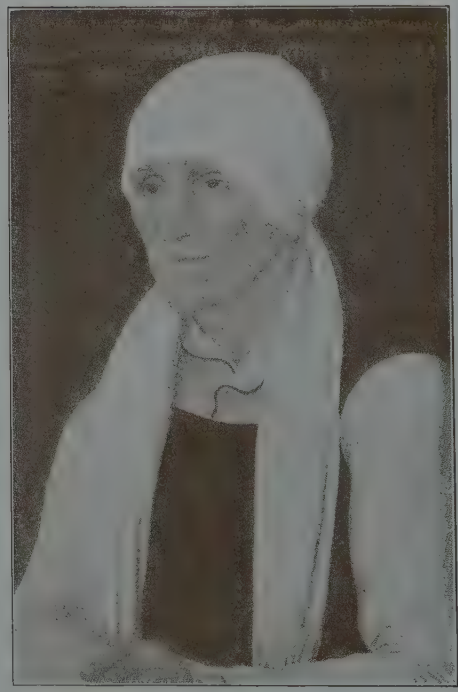
When after three thousand years of development the human race stood at the brink of despair, the Greeks with all their wisdom unable to find the way to eternal life, the Romans with all their power unable to assure continued peace; when the Jews, groaning under the burden of the law, yet were unable to attain to the righteousness before God; when these very facts marked the fullness of time which God in His love had pre-determined, then did God send His Son. The Holy Ghost came upon Mary of Nazareth and the power of the Highest did overshadow her. Then was born the child

Jesus at Bethlehem, the Savior of a lost and condemned world. "For He shall save His people from their sins."

Just at that time did it happen, no sooner, no later. God is the ruler of the world, and the Lord of her history. Nothing happens without His will. Everything happens how and when He wills, each thing at its particular time and season.

And thus now also, when darkness again covered the earth, and deepest night prevailed in the heart of the nations, because the gospel of the Son of God had been disregarded, and when many a soul sighed for the morning; and again, when the discovery of new continents, the invention of the printing press, the flourishing of arts and sciences marked the dawn of the new day, then, no sooner and no later, God prepared the instrument of grace through whom He would restore to the world the light of His gospel, so that men might rejoice in its beauty, because it meant their salvation. He gave to the world Dr. Martin Luther, born November 10, 1483. The birth of Martin Luther was not a matter of chance. God





LUTHER'S PARENTS, BY L. CRANACH, 1527.

Hans Luther

Marg. Luther, Née Ziegler

had His own thoughts, and these were thoughts of peace.

Of course, the poor and lowly conditions that surrounded this birth augured but little of a great destiny. This is true already of Luther's extraction. He did not come from the higher circles of society. His father, Hans Luther, belonged to a family of peasants, who lived in the village of Moehra, on the southwestern slopes of the Thuringian Forest, and the peasant class then enjoyed less esteem than today. Of course, when Luther was born his father was no longer engaged in the work of a peasant out on the fields. According to the custom governing descent and distribution of property in those days not the oldest but the youngest son came into the father's estate. Thus Hans Luther as the oldest among his brothers sought other work, and found it in the mines at Moehra, where a kind of slate was found. But this was not only hard labor but also poorly paid labor. For this reason Luther's father left Moehra and removed to Eisleben hoping to better his circumstances. But here also he did not find what he sought, and

soon after the birth of little Martin he removed to Mansfeld. This change of location thus far brought him no wealth. Here in Mansfeld also many a time Luther's mother was obliged to gather her stovewood in the forests and carry it home on her back. Thus Luther came into this world as the child of humble parents.

Not even the year of his birth is absolutely certain. According to one report he was born in 1482, according to another in 1484. Over the cares of living the mother forgot the exact date, and perhaps there was no record kept in the church book of Eisleben for transients. Luther himself never investigated, yet the year 1483 seems to be quite certain. The day of his birth, however, is certain, November 10; and also the day of baptism, November 11, and he was baptized in St. Peter's Church at Eisleben and named Martin after the patron saint of the day.

But does it matter even though Luther sprang from a lowly class? It was a healthy class and pleasing to God. God here also had His own thoughts. Luther's future career conditioned a strong nature with



LUTHER'S BIRTHPLACE AT EISLEBEN—Modern View

strong nerves and a vigorous mind. Luther himself was never ashamed of his extraction. He proudly said, "I am a peasant's son; my father, grandfather and ancestors were peasants." Many a time did God make use of the sons of the soil for the rejuvenation of mankind, and found among these many of the leaders of men. And a principal part of Luther's doctrine in later years was this, that all classes of men, the peasant class included, are agreeable to God.

And of what harm was it to Luther to be poor? He was the better able in later years to appreciate the poor, and the "common man" also understood him the better. It is a rule in the kingdom of God that He selects the poor and weak. Read James 2:5; 1 Cor. 1:26-28; Matth. 11:25, 26; compare Deut. 7:7 and 8.

And if his name and the year of his birth are not recorded in the civic records of Eisleben, God Himself has written his name in the history of the Church and world with indelible characters, and especially also in the Book of Life. Read Revelations 13:8; 17:8; 20:12; Phil. 4:3.

2.

We usually speak of three institutions for the training of the child, the home, the school, and the church. The most important of these is the home. A great educator once said, "Give me the children during their first seven years, and rarely if ever will they be irretrievably lost." When Napoleon had reached the zenith of his power, he was asked what he would now need for his great empire. He is said to have answered, "Give me mothers, competent mothers!"

The home is also the oldest institution of child-training. Among the Jews already father and mother had charge of the religious instruction. The child learned about God's law, the prophecies and promises, and the most important facts of sacred history at home. Read Deuteronomy 6:7-9; Exodus 12:25-27. At his mother's and grandmother's knee Timothy learned his first lessons of Holy Writ. 2 Tim. 3:15; 1:5.

Thus it also came to be in the Christian Church. Saint Chrysostom (died A.D. 407) never tires of reminding the Christian home of this responsibility. "How beautiful,"

says he to the fathers, "is an aging tree when a new branch grows out of its roots! Much more beautiful, however, is the man, whose child stands at his side at church. He is like the vigorous olive-tree whose roots bring forth a new branch!" "When you return from church refrain from all things that militate against the sanctity of divine worship. Take your Bible in hand, call wife and children, and together with them repeat the thoughts of the sermon."

In the German Church, Charlemagne, the great emperor, designated the home as the training center. A.D. 804 he promulgated a law, requiring parents and sponsors themselves to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the institution of Baptism, and teach them to their children and to those whom they brought to Holy Baptism. "Whosoever refuses to do this," it was decreed, "shall be flogged, and shall refrain from every drink, water alone excepted, until he knows them well. The women shall be forced either through whippings or fastings." That was cruel, no doubt, and hardly corresponded with the sacred sub-

ject matter. But it proved a remedial measure. The most of what the children were taught at all of religious things during the period of the Middle Ages they were taught by father and mother.

When Luther was born this arrangement was still in force in the Church. Of course, parents often cared but little about it. When the Reformation was introduced in a section of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg in 1564 many of these peasants had not yet learned the Lord's Prayer, because they said, "it is too lengthy."

What training did young Luther receive in the home of his parents?

Luther's parents did not belong to the class of unnatural parents. They discharged their duty as well as they knew.

His father was at work in the mines from morn till night. His mother was busy in the house, especially as a whole circle of children soon followed after Martin. But withal they did not lose sight of their parental responsibility.

His father's influence especially left its impress on the boy's mind. And here it

was the case of example rather than precept. He was a very industrious man, who hated and despised all laziness and levity. He thought but little of monks, because they and their cloisters fed on the alms of others, and impoverished the country. He thought much more of faithful work. He thought of God, to whom he owed an account for all he did. But withal he was a devoted member of the Roman Church and never doubted her teachings. When two new altars were dedicated to a number of saints in Mansfeld, in 1497, and indulgence for 60 days was promised to all who heard Mass, he also sought forgiveness of sins by hearing Masses, however much he may have trusted only in God's forgiving grace otherwise.

Especially did he cherish the fourth commandment, and insisted strictly on its observance. In this respect he could become hard, even cruel to his children. Luther tells, how his father flogged him so much at one time, that he fled from him, and bore him ill will, until his father won him back through kindness. Yet there was a tender heart beneath this rough exterior.

His mother, too, was hard and severe like his father. Luther in later life once mentioned how his mother flogged him until he bled and all on account of a mere nut.

But Luther never harbored this against his parents, but always revered them highly. He appreciated their noble intentions. And no doubt the severity of his parental home bore its blessed fruits. No commandment did he explain so excellently as the fourth (see especially his Large Catechism). And in view of his own experience he counselled parents always to place the apple alongside of the rod.

Obedience to his parents also taught him obedience to God, and he never forgot that God is a holy God, who suffers no trifling. It was the fear of this God that drove him into the convent. And here through the providence of God he learned that God is indeed holy, but also that God is love, and forgives sins for Christ's sake.

His mother taught him the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and perhaps also the Ave Maria (Hail Mary, etc., Luke 1:42), morning and evening prayers,



HOME OF LUTHER'S FATHER AT MANSFELD

Modern View



YOUNG LUTHER IS TAKEN TO SCHOOL BY HIS PARENTS

and the prayers before and after meat, though it is likely that his mother omitted to explain to him the proper meaning of these parts.

At Mansfeld there was a school, for Mansfeld was a city, and cities usually maintained a school, however defective these may often have been. The school of Mansfeld belonged to this class. Yet his parents kept him there despite his extreme youth. And many a time he was grateful when an older pupil carried him home on his back. Here he learned to read and write, and reviewed his Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, though here, too, these were not explained.

Thus was Luther's training in his youth, and neither parents nor relatives dreamed of what he would be in after years. But God did not lose sight of him. He knew well why He had him trained in this way. He who was destined to train and mould a whole people must be properly trained and moulded himself.

3. Luther at School.

WHAT would we do without our schools? Home training, of course, is necessary and good, and when of the right type it lays the proper foundation for the whole future development. But it must be supplemented by the school, or in most cases there will be an absence of regularity, a lack of scope and aim in the mental work done. And they are few and far between, indeed, the men who have been successful in life without the advantages of regular school training. And even where there are such, the gaps in their knowledge will ever and again make them painfully conscious of this deficiency in their earlier training.

On the other hand, it would be a grave error to imagine that since the school has opened its door to the child the home is absolved from further responsibility. Quite the contrary. Then it devolves upon the home to supervise the work of the school, co-operate with the teachers, and counteract any possible influences for evil that might be

brought to bear. If this is true where a child is fortunate enough to attend a well organized Christian parish school, it is especially true where the absence of such forces the child into the non-religious and in some cases even anti-religious public school. Surely it behooves conscientious parents to watch over the training of their child with prayerful solicitude, envelop its school work with the spirit of Christ, and by means of careful religious training to supplement that which the school in the nature of the case can not offer.

Luther spent his school days at Mansfeld, Magdeburg, and Eisenach.

At Mansfeld, where his parents lived and where he spent his early youth, he attended school from his 7th to his 14th year. To the present day the school building is shown where he learned his first lessons. Its heavy walls have survived the ravages of the centuries. The schoolroom, too, is still the same. It holds some 30 to 40 pupils. Of course, efficient teachers, such as teach there today, comfortable desks, splendid textbooks, equipment in general, were unknown

in Luther's day. If Germany today is the school master of the world and can point with pride to the best higher and lower schools it is due to no small degree to Luther himself. In his day teachers, books, and methods were the conceivably worst. The principal means for child training seems to have been the cane. Luther himself says, "The preceptors were usually unskilled and as cruel as the hangman." In Mansfeld it seems to have been worse than at other places. Luther was flogged not less than fifteen times one morning because he was unable to recite some declension or conjugation, which he had never been told to study. Since the teacher at Mansfeld school had praised little Martin's gifts, his father resolved to have him continue his studies. Accordingly, the lad was required not only to learn the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer (without explanation) together with some few Latin hymns which were used in worship, but also the rudiments of Latin grammar. No doubt Martin would rather attend church on Sunday than school during the week, for even though the sermon, as often

or as rare as there was one, had but little to offer him, yet he saw the mysterious doings of the priest at the altar who with his powerful word transformed the host into the body of Christ. Under the pulpit he could see Saint George, who killed the dragon, and on the walls were paintings depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament. These afforded him the only instruction in Bible history which he received during his youth. Still less, no doubt, was afforded him by the confessional where, since his confirmation in his seventh year, he was required to confess his sins to the priest each Easter, and by him was told to pray so and so many "Our Fathers" in order to receive the forgiveness of sins.

When fourteen years old, Luther, as we would say today, entered college at Magdeburg (1497). There "Brethren of the Common Life," as they were called, who did much for schools in those days, conducted a school. Since Hans Luther was looking for efficient training for his boy, he did not hesitate to send him so far away. Of course, another factor must be mentioned. In his

poverty he could not support his son, and the "Brethren of the Common Life" in Magdeburg had an arrangement, whereby their scholars earned their own and their teachers' livelihood by singing at church and before the houses of the nobility. His parents hoped Martin might be able to shift for himself. But things must have gone hard with Luther at Magdeburg. At one time, owing to the lack of proper food, he was taken seriously ill. After one year his father was obliged to take him away from Magdeburg on account of the poor food.

Thus Luther came to Eisenach, the beautiful city at the foot of the Wartburg. If Hans Luther had hoped that his son would find a home with the relatives of his mother, he was also disappointed. For here, too, the lad soon depended on all kinds of services which he rendered in church and by singing before the houses, the so-called "Brotreigen," to earn a sustenance for himself and his teachers. There was nothing bemeaning in such begging, since the "holy fathers," or monks, too, went through the country with their sacks and collected everything they



COTTA HOUSE AT EISENACH



LADY COTTA TAKES LUTHER INTO HER HOME

needed for their convent. In the spring and summer it may even have been agreeable to be the first out at dawn and to sing hymns and songs in front of the houses. But how about the winter with its ice and snow, and then insufficiently clothed? And when the boys came home the "pious brethren," the teachers, took the choicest parts, and often there was not enough left for the boys to appease their hunger. As a result of the privations Luther again became weak and sick, and nothing but the fear of his stern father kept him in school.

But had God forgotten him entirely? When need grew greatest He touched the heart of a noble woman, Ursula Cotta, who took young Luther from the street into her own home. Her husband was councillor and thus an important personage in the city. Here Luther not only found good care, but what is more, love as a mother loves. Was it a wonder that Martin revived and real joyousness of youth took possession of his heart? He certainly did not forget to thank God and his patron saint, St. Anna, from the depths of his heart. Now studying became

twice as easy. We hear that he excelled, especially in the study of languages, far surpassing his schoolmates. He could talk and poetize like no other. He who in later years moved thousands to tears of grief or joy through the medium of his word here for the first time began to stir his wings.

God had brought him into a home which not only created the basis for the joy of living by the care with which it fostered and watched over physical well-being, but which also understood and supported the work of the school. The language used in this refined home supplemented and enriched his knowledge of the German mother tongue, which was not spoken, nor even permitted, in the Latin school. Its culture and etiquette polished his uncouth manners, and the awkwardness and helplessness which clung to him from his humble extraction, so that in later years he moved with the utmost ease among princes and kings. The cultivation of music, as he found it in the house of the Cottas, awakened in him his own latent powers and his love for this "noble gift of God," so that in later years he placed it

above all other arts, and cultivated it during his entire life with rare understanding. Though he remained a loyal son of the Roman Catholic Church during his Eisenach days, yet Ursula Cotta's word deeply impressed him, "Nichts lieberes auf Erden, denn Frauenliebe, wems kann werden" (Nothing better on earth than love of woman, to whom it may be). This was true also of the example of his hostess, so that here already he learned, that in addition to life in a cloister, there is also a family life that is well pleasing to God.

Surely, it was the hand of God that led Luther into the home of the Cottas during his youth. The years he spent under this hospitable roof, and the experiences he gathered there, only help us the better to understand many traits of his later life.

4. Luther at the University.

COMMON school, college, university—these are the three steps that lead to those positions in life that require a thorough training both general and specific. The common school lays the broad fundament that none dare lack. The college widens the horizon, and above all things, teaches how to think. For this reason it instructs in ancient and modern languages, mathematics and history, psychology and dialectics, etc. The university, as its name implies, draws the entire universe of research and knowledge into the scope of its investigation, and gives for every individual branch (philosophy, theology, philology, law, medicine, etc.) the best possible training. The greater the influence of these higher institutions of learning, the higher also the entrance requirements. And justly so. For in this way it is best possible to preclude those of poorer or only mediocre ability, and to elevate the standard. It may work injustice in individual cases, but this is not necessarily

the fault of the system. It is to the advantage of the state and the people that work of the highest type be done at its schools. Only in a lesser number of the higher institutions of our country has the efficiency and the thoroughness of like institutions in Germany been reached. The state recognizes the value of these institutions, and for this reason maintains its own state universities, where residents of the state often receive their instruction free of charge, and these in addition to the many private colleges and universities. But because these state institutions are non-religious, the Church is forced to establish and maintain its own higher institutions of learning. For, during that formative period of life, when character is in the making and doubt also loves to assert itself, from 14 to 24, a Christian spirit must pervade the studies of the young. Of course, this must not be obtrusively and legalistically apparent, but quietly, still none the less firmly, the objective point always clearly in view, so that in the midst of the wealth of new thought and knowledge, as it comes pouring in upon life, the young

mind receives and retains its powers of discernment and discrimination. And likewise over against the many temptations, as they assail life, the youthful mind never loses the Christ ideal, strives to emulate and realize it, and thus is kept healthy and morally and spiritually strong. The study of theology also demands special seminaries maintained by the Church, for a spineless and colorless theology, that spurns the confessions of the Church, is a credit and a help to no one. A healthy Christian life can not endure without a distinctively confessional basis. These Church institutions, especially, have a hard struggle to maintain themselves alongside the state institutions. They must, therefore, appeal to and depend upon the loving care and generous support of the congregations if they are, indeed, to fulfill their mission.

In Luther's day, the Latin school, so-called, and the university, led to the heights of knowledge. A common school, in the sense in which we know it so well, with compulsory attendance, did not exist. And the surrogate for the common school, the German "Schreibschule," as found in the cities,

was of the most primitive kind. Thus the Latin school began with the A B C. It usually had but one, at the most, two teachers. Some few boasted of three or four teachers. And there were also only a few universities at the time. Of these, the University of Paris was the oldest. Beginning with the 14th century, several universities were established in Germany patterned after Paris. Of course, many of these universities accomplished no more than the average present-day college. And often a university included the whole curriculum of the Latin school. The University of Paris received students as young as ten years of age. Among the German universities, at the beginning of the 16th century, the University of Erfurt was regarded as one of the best.

Luther entered Erfurt Easter, 1501. His father had meanwhile become a man of some means, and was in a position to support his son. And if even yet it cost him some privations, the thought of his son's future helped him to overcome them. Martin matriculated as a student of law, for in the judgment of

his father, this was an especially distinguished profession. He also hoped in this way to aid his son in attaining to some position of prominence and trust in the service of the government. Luther submitted to his father's will, though he would rather, perhaps, have taken up something else.

Work at the university in those days always began with a longer course in philosophy, in which logic, dialectics, practical rhetoric, were taken up, likewise the elements of astronomy, physics, and natural science. After graduating in this course, the student received the degree of Ph.B. Completion of this course led to the study of some specific science, such as theology, medicine, or law.

When Luther entered Erfurt the university was throbbing with life. Humanism, which God had sent to precede the Reformation, had breathed new life into the old forms. Yet it was not the carefree, frivolous humanism that advocated a revival of paganism, as we find it in Italy at the time, but a humanism that maintained a better relation with the Church. In Erfurt, especially,

it advocated a deeper religious life and refrained from assailing the doctrines of the Church.

Luther was a diligent student. The longer he studied at Erfurt, the better his work. After one year, Michaelmas (September), 1502, he obtained his first academic degree, that of Ph.B. He ranked thirtieth among 57 graduates. 1505 (Epiphany) he reached his Master's degree, this time the second among 17. His ability already gained the admiration of the university.

During a severe illness an aged man consoled him, saying, "Dear bachelor, do not despair, you will some day be a great man." The father's ambitions seemed about to be realized. In his parental pride he no longer addressed his son with the familiar "thou" (Du), but used the politer form of "you" (Ihr).

It was God's will that Luther should become familiar with the ancient Latin classics, and gain an insight into the whole field of the knowledge of his day. He was to familiarize himself with the world of thought in which later he was destined to

advocate the Gospel. And it was no mere matter of chance that here at Erfurt he thoroughly surveyed the theology of the passing Middle Ages. It enabled him the better to combat it in later years. He was also the better able to become acquainted with the system of indulgences, for the greatest preacher of indulgences had his sermons printed at Erfurt during Luther's day at the university. While Luther thus pursued his studies, and, complying with his father's wish, had taken up law, and had already secured the expensive and ponderous Corpus Juris, the very foundation of the study of law, God prepared His instrument, unknown to himself, for his greater work.

5. Luther Enters the Cloister.

1.

WHAT is a cloister? The word is taken from the Latin and originally means an inclosed place. As far back as the third century, individual Christians retired from the world to the solitude of the desert, in order, as they thought, better to serve God by prayer and meditation. As the number of these hermits grew and they could not always withdraw to the deserts, buildings were erected in Christendom, which, together with an open court, were separated from the world by means of walls. The buildings were called cloisters (because of the seclusion from the world), or monasteries (because inhabited by monks). These monks lived a life of retirement from the world. In order to become a member of a monks' order, a vow was required. In later years this consisted of the promise of life-long chastity (celibacy, the state of being unmarried), poverty, and absolute obedience

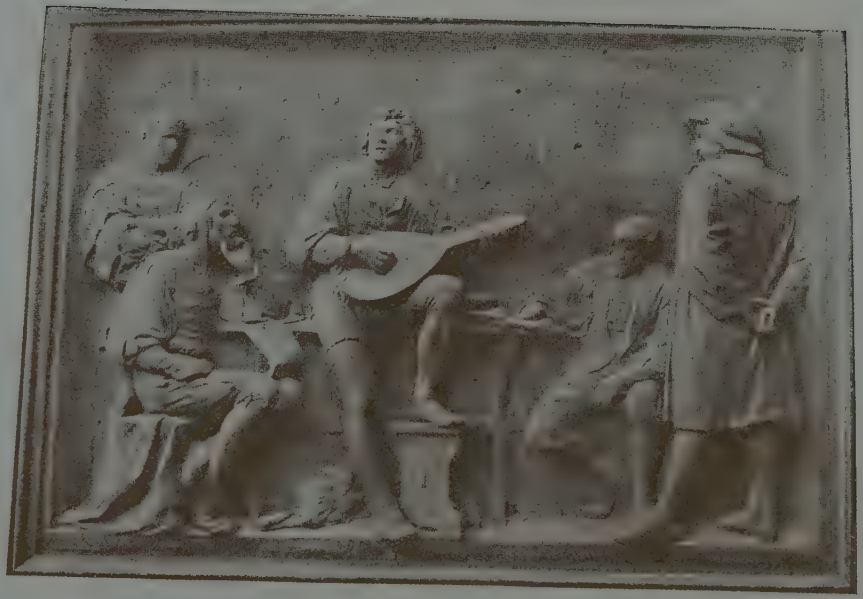
to the cloister authorities. By living a strictly regulated life with much prayer and other spiritual exercises it was thought thus better to serve God than could be done out in the markets of the world. In addition to this, severe bodily and mental labor was undertaken, and self-chastisement by blows, or castigation, was practiced, thus to mortify the flesh. Life in the cloister was looked upon as being especially holy.

Besides these cloisters for men cloisters were also established for women. Living in the world soon came to be looked upon as the lower form of Christian life, while living in a cloister was regarded as the higher life, more pleasing to God, the one in which heaven could be merited by self-imposed works. Parents therefore were wont to put their children, even though in earliest youth, into a cloister, and perhaps even promised them to the cloister before birth, thus wholly dedicating them to the same.

However much of wrong there may have been about the cloister-life, even there where men endeavored in all seriousness to live up to their vows, yet in the hands of God the



THE OLD UNIVERSITY AT ERFURT



STUDENT LUTHER AMONG HIS ERFURT FRIENDS

cloister did become a means whereby much blessing came to the old Church, and especially to the Church of the Middle Ages. For God knows how to use even the wrong-



THE AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER AT ERFURT
After an old drawing

doings of men for the service of His Kingdom. The cloister became the quiet haven in which and by means of which a goodly portion of the knowledge of the ancients was preserved and transmitted to the Middle Ages. For it was here in the cloister that

the works of ancient pagan and Christian writers were copied, and parts of Holy Writ were multiplied, and thus kept for later times. The cloisters were the places where Christian training of the young was fostered. Since there were no common schools throughout the period of the Middle Ages, these cloisters took charge of the young, thus keeping them from complete degeneration. They taught them the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. They received children and young people into their schools and kept them there for years. The noblest women of the Middle Ages, the greatest men in Church and State had been trained in the cloister or by the people of the cloister. The cloisters also took charge of preaching and pastoral work, which the so-called secular clergy neglected, either because of ignorance and indolence, or because of their worldliness and lack of spirituality. The monks traveled as itinerant preachers from place to place and gathered huge multitudes about them out on the open fields, or took charge of the pulpits in the existing churches in place of the secular clergy and parish priests.

It is true, it was ever less Christ, the Savior, whom they preached, but the law of Moses and the ordinances of the Church, yet even so, a blessing went out from their preaching. They at least kept the rude masses in some kind of external discipline, and for many a one they were more than merely the taskmasters. Their pastoral work was carried on especially by means of the confessional. And finally, the cloisters were the standard bearers of civilization and culture, and of missions among the heathen.

Patricius, who brought the Gospel to England, was a monk; Columba, who went to Scotland; Augustine, a missionary in England; Columba and Gallus, and others who worked in southern and southwestern Germany; Willibrord, the brave apostle to the Frisians; Winfried or Boniface in Thuringia and Hessia, who received the title of "Apostle of the Germans"; Ansgar, who preached Christ in Scandinavia; the bearers of the Gospel to eastern Europe and later even to China,—all of these were men who had come from the cloisters.

Of course, these institutions ofttimes for-

got or ignored their original purpose. Not only that they failed to discharge their mission in the Church and world, but they themselves became very worldly. Since they knew full well, not only how to get possession of the property of their new members, but also persuaded many others, especially such who were on their deathbeds, to bequeath great legacies to the cloisters, so that Masses could be said for their souls to bring about their release from purgatory, and, since they collected large sums for services rendered to the State, they soon became very wealthy. Wealth led to soft living, and soft living to immorality in its various forms. Soon there was but little left of the pure and "simple life of Jesus," which they purported to imitate. Only the last mentioned of the monastic vows (obedience) was in most cases strictly enforced.

Not a few of the cloisters in the period immediately prior to the Reformation were saturated with corruption. The nobler minds in the Church fully saw this and suffered under the shame, but the Church authorities only interfered when conditions

became intolerable. The pope found these cloisters and the monks who completely dominated the people a strong leverage. Whoever was sincerely concerned with matters of State must needs see an antagonist even in the better cloisters. For the cloisters took a vast portion of land and other goods and many of the people from the State. They paid no taxes, for cloister property was exempt, and the monks, too, were exempt from service, so that both cloister possessions and men were looked upon as a "dead hand" by the State. And then, too, the hands of the State were securely tied, for the conscience of the people had been led astray, so that monks were looked upon as "saints of God," and monastic asceticism as the surest way to heaven.

One of the best monastic orders of its day in Saxony was the Augustinian order (so called because it traced most of its regulations back to Augustine); and among the Augustinian monks the so-called Congregation of Observantines, who had united to observe stricter rules, and lived a more austere life, and, indeed, by various reforms

did endeavor to stop the laxness and moral corruption charged against the cloister. They devoted themselves to the study of ecclesiastical science, were zealous preachers, and carried on pastoral work.

It was a cloister of the Observantines which Luther entered when he suddenly left the university and his studies, July 17, 1505.

2.

Why did he enter the cloister? What were his motives? Surely not because of disgust over his sinful life, which was the motive for many another of his day. For, though Luther had always been a jolly student, yet he had ever abstained from grievous sins and had lived a virtuous life. Nor yet to escape the care and worry, poverty and bitterness of life, for he enjoyed the esteem of his fellows and was on the verge of a brilliant career. And even less thus to get rid of work and live a life of indolence caring only for his stomach, for he was always active and filled with zeal for work.

What was it then that drove him into the cloister? Nothing less than anxiety for his soul. From his earliest youth he had been taught to look upon God and Christ only as the stern judge, who relentlessly punishes every sin, even the smallest and most secret sin, and this remained with him during his days at school and university. He knew nothing of the God of love and grace, so completely did the thought of a God of wrath and punishment dominate his religious life. And he owned no Bible, the study of which would have revealed to him the true heart and disposition of God. And when one day he discovered a complete Bible in the library of the university, and noticed to his great surprise that it contained much more than merely the regular gospel and epistle lessons, appointed by the Church to be read on Sundays and Feast days, and now began to read with much pleasure, his one-sided notion of God was only confirmed rather than corrected, for his eye was riveted on the expressions of God's righteousness, and because he thought all of these (for inst. Rom. 1:17) must be understood as referring

to God's punitive justice he came into most terrifying anguish of soul. If God does punish sinners as they deserve, how then should he hope to stand blameless before His throne?

To this came another fact. During his second year at Erfurt he became seriously ill. And now his terrors grew apace. For should he die, death would bring him into judgment, and judgment is followed by purgatory or even eternal condemnation! Even after his recovery he could not rid himself of these thoughts. Whilst on a journey home he accidentally severed an artery in his foot and nearly bled to death. Again the terror of God's wrath took hold of his soul. Some time later one of his friends was found dead in bed. Whether he was murdered or committed suicide could not be ascertained, but for Luther it was a new reminder of death and judgment, and especially so, since his poor friend had passed away without absolution and the last sacrament. An awful thunderstorm that suddenly came upon him during his journey from Mansfeld to Erfurt vividly symbolized God's wrath. Not far



INNER COURT OF THE AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER AT ERFURT

Modern View



LUTHER FINDS THE LATIN BIBLE
After the engraving by König

distant, lightning struck and the accompanying roar of thunder stunned him almost to insensibility. In his distress he invoked Saint Anna, to whom people ascribed the power over storms in the depths of the mines, and of whom Luther therefore believed that she could also control the storms of the heavens. "Help, help, Saint Anna, and I will be a monk!" he cried, and this decided his fate. His entrance into the cloister was to be the thankoffering for gracious preservation. Here he hoped to merit rest for his soul, and do enough good works that God's punitive justice would recognize them, and reward him with eternal salvation.

Thus did Luther become a monk. Perhaps he would not have entered the cloister even now, if he had not registered the vow. Sixteen years later he wrote, "I did not gladly and willingly become a monk, and much less for the sake of my stomach; but when the fear and terror of death came over me, I vowed a forced, coerced vow with oath."

3.

Just about the time when Jesus died there lived in Jerusalem a young Pharisee, who more than any other strove after righteousness, i. e., the state in which man merits God's recognition and good pleasure through his zeal for good works. Phil. 3:6, will show you how far he progressed in the judgment of the people, but Gal. 2:16 also shows that with all his zeal he did not attain to the goal, and never would have been justified, had not God Himself opened his eyes and implanted the faith in the righteousness of Christ in his heart. Thus he attained to righteousness, because he gained Christ, and in Christ the only One who covered the sins of the world with His blood and merited the good pleasure of God for men.

In order to earn righteousness in the sight of God through good works, Luther entered the cloister. As St. Paul subjugated himself to all the laws of Moses and all the precepts of the fathers in order to realize his purpose, so Luther submitted to every ordinance of the Church and the cloister. How-

ever uncomfortable and unreasonable, however difficult and cruel these may have been, he would submit to them and to every commandment of God, if thereby he might only quiet his conscience and gain righteousness before God.

It was serious business for him, this entering the cloister. For this reason he begged the prior of the cloister to permit no visitors to enter his cell. No one should be permitted to weaken him in his purpose. His father was very angry, but Luther remained faithful to his resolution, and hoped to bring his father to a different opinion. With the utmost zeal he observed every rule of the convent. He absented himself from no Mass, punctually said every prescribed prayer, observed the vigils, fasts, and all the larger and smaller exercises. Yes, he went much farther than the prescribed exercises, and as he later admitted, took much more upon himself than his health permitted. The hours intervening between devotions he spent to good advantage by studying whatever of theological and religious books he could find in the cloister

library or obtain from the university. If sometimes he did forget the devotional exercises because of the studies, he never failed to make them up. He himself says, "When I was still a monk in the convent, I was so busy with studying and writing, preaching and singing, that I could not pray my Horas Canonicas. Therefore when I had not kept them during the six days of the week, I took the Saturday for myself, and without eating at noon or in the evening, I prayed the entire day." He willingly undertook the meanest labor down to cleaning of the vilest places, and the other monks were only too glad to put this work upon him, because heretofore he had been so highly esteemed, and because he was far superior to them in learning. He even took the bag on his back and begged in the neighboring villages for the support of his convent, though he was ridiculed for it by his friends. He would leave nothing undone that in any way could help him to gain righteousness before the eternal judge.

But withal he was forced to confess that the peace of God did not enter his heart, for

ever and again he found this and that sinful thought in his mind. Towards the close of the year (1505) he formally and solemnly took upon himself the monastic vows, and at this occasion received the name Augustine. May 2, 1507, he was ordained to the priesthood and was permitted to say his first Mass. Had he hoped to attain to peace he was disappointed. It would have required but little more, and the whole sacred act, in which according to the opinion of the Church every letter was important, would have ended in failure, for he suddenly imagined he saw the majesty of the divine judge rise before his eyes, and was much terrified. Daily saying of Mass and reconciliation with his father did not bring him relief. Was his father right after all when at the occasion of his ordination he reminded the monks of the sacredness of the fourth commandment, which is not superseded even by a semblance of sanctity and self-imposed works? The study of the Church fathers also, especially St. Augustine, the reading of the Bible which was permitted him only under certain restrictions, did not bring him the peace of

mind which he sought. His preceptor Usinger once said to him, "Why, Brother Martin, what is the Bible? Read the ancient teachers, they have extracted the very essence of truth; the Bible only causes trouble!" When he went from the cloister into the vicinity of Erfurt, said Mass, heard confessions, or administered the last sacrament, he indeed gave something to the people, but his own heart remained void. Especially was he troubled by the fact, that even by means of confession and absolution he could not come to his rest, because he could not believe in its power. "When I was most devoted," he said at a later time, "I passed to the altar a doubter and returned from the altar a doubter. Had I made my confession I doubted, and had I not made it I despaired." At another time he said, "As a monk I thought I must be lost, whenever I felt a fleshly lust." "It does not help you, to have entered the sacred order," he repeated to himself, "all your good works are lost." The Bible rather increased his anxiety, for he could not get beyond Romans 9, where God seems to have fore-ordained some for salva-

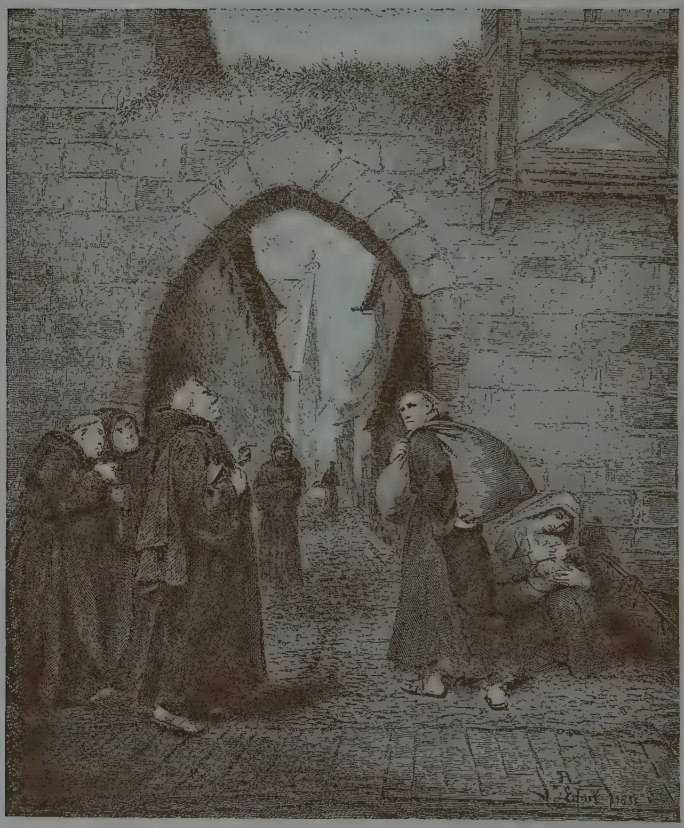
tion and others for perdition. "What an awful God! Better there were none at all!" he might have thought. Even in the story of the crucifixion he could only find God's wrath. "When I looked upon Him on the cross, He appeared to me as lightning. When His name was mentioned I had rather the Devil were mentioned; I was terrified when I saw His likeness, dropped my eyes, and would rather have seen the Devil."

His associates could not understand him. A man with so tender a conscience had never occurred to them before. They could not help him at all from the Scriptures, for they did not read them, and could not understand them if they did. Luther was forced to experience the horror of a conscience, the whole agony of a heart, that endeavors to save itself through its own works, and yet can not do so. "If any man ever entered heaven through monasticism, then would I have entered!" he said at a later time. "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith

of Christ, and not by the works of the law," St. Paul confesses of himself and the Jewish Christians (Gal. 2:16). Luther did not yet reach this understanding and yet it proved a great comfort to him when a certain brother monk called his attention to the words of the Third Article, "I believe a forgiveness of sins," and Romans 3:28. And even more so, when his noble superior, Dr. Staupitz, directed him from his brooding over predestination to the wounds of Christ. The light of true knowledge began slowly to dawn in his heart. The same Paul who at first seemed so awful to him, later proved his true guide to Christ, and thus also to the true understanding of God's Word.



LUTHER ENTERS THE CLOISTER
After the engraving by G. König



ON HIS RETURN FROM A BEGGING TOUR, LUTHER IS JEERED AT BY HIS FELLOW-MONKS

6. Luther Is Made Professor at the University of Wittenberg.

GOD'S thoughts are not the thoughts of men. Luther had fled from the university to the solitudes of the cloister, God led him back again to the university: He, whom God would use in His Kingdom, can not escape.

Staupitz had comforted Luther during his days in the Erfurt convent, and especially when temptation and mental distress came over him. And it was through Staupitz that God led Luther from the cloister after a sojourn of three years and brought him to the newly founded University of Wittenberg, where he was destined to find the truth, and by means of the re-discovered Gospel to bring about a new era for Christendom.

Wittenberg is located in a barren and sandy section. Even in Luther's day the following doggerel had become proverbial:

"Laendiken, Laendiken,
"Du bist ein Saendiken;
"Wenn ich dich arbeite, so bist du licht
(i. e., leicht);
"Wenn ich dich egge, so bist du schlicht;
"Wenn ich dich maehe, so find ich nichts."

But God's grace, ever able to call forth fountains of waters even in the desert, transformed it into the source of living waters for more than one continent.

Though Wittenberg was the residence of the Elector of Saxony it consisted of "small, old, mean, and low huts more like a village than a city." Of its people Luther said, they were "unfriendly, and just in the borderlands of civilization." Yet Wittenberg boasted of a number of pretentious buildings. There was the colossal and crudely massive and yet imposing castle of the Elector, the parish church with its towers, the Augustinian convent, and the collegiate church, where some 5,000 relics were kept. These were shown to the people on Sunday Misericordias (the second Sunday after Easter). Whoever went on a pilgrimage to this church could pray away 1,445 years of purgatory. In these churches some 10,000 Masses were said annually. For every "Our Father" prayed there for the Elector one received one hundred days of indulgence. Wittenberg was thus an important city for the Roman Church.



WITTENBERG AT LUTHER'S TIME



WITTENBERG TODAY



THE BLACK CLOISTER IN WITTENBERG

And now it was made a university city by the Elector (1502), and Staupitz, the dean of the theological faculty, had a call extended to Luther (1508). The beginnings of the university were small enough. Luther proved a new power to draw students and aid in a rapid development. Staupitz had known him well enough to be justified in his expectations. Luther was called to the chair of philosophy, or to be more exact, dialectics and physics. Was it fear, was it joy, which this offer called forth in his soul? Both together. Fear of the world, to which he was now to return, without having found true peace, joy over the new field of work now spread out before him, and the confidence shown him by Staupitz and the Elector. That he could lodge in the Augustinian cloister at Wittenberg, called the "Black cloister," because of the dress of the monks, and live according to the rules of the same, greatly aided him in following the call.

He was still a true son of his Church when he entered Wittenberg. The writings of St. Augustine and the Bible were his dearest books, though he had not yet come to their

full understanding. The very soul of the Scriptures, the Gospel of free grace in Christ Jesus, still remained closed to him, though single rays of light fell into his heart. Yet he greatly rejoiced, when in 1509 he was made a Baccalaureus Biblicus (bachelor of divinity) and thus was authorized, yes obligated to interpret the Bible in public for one semester. He looked upon this as a great privilege, and a solemn duty. At the same time he preached in the cloister. Even then, where the serious study of the Bible was so rare an exception, ever and again in his sermons and lectures there flashed a new understanding for his hearers. Thus a contemporary, Dr. Mellrichstadt, tells that Luther's words often touched his very heart, and predicted, "This monk will confound all doctors, bring a new doctrine, and reform the Church, for he stands on the writings of the prophets and apostles, and relies on the words of Christ."

After the course of a year Luther was again transferred from Wittenberg to Erfurt, in all likelihood by his ecclesiastical superiors. Here he remained upward to

three years (1509-1512). This change of location, however, entailed no change of work for him, for here at Erfurt, too, he continued his lectures on theology. Nor did it bring him an understanding of the evangelical way of salvation. It was from Erfurt that he entered upon his journey to Rome.

7. Luther in Rome.

HE whom God has elected cannot well escape. God shapes his life in such a way that it becomes a preparation for his future calling, the great end and purpose of his life. Thus towards the end of 1510 or the beginning of 1511 He brought Luther to Rome, so that by personal observation he might know the center of the Romish Church, and thus through the recollections of that experience be better fortified later on to take up the struggle against the same.

Not in a higher capacity did he come to Rome, not as a university professor, not even as an independent representative of his order, but simply as the traveling companion of one higher up, who had gone in some matter of the Augustinian Observantines and was to champion their cause. According to the rules of his order he was not permitted to walk with him during the entire journey, but kept several steps in the rear. Thus did God lead him to Rome.

And how Luther did rejoice over the pros-

pect of going to Rome! As a man, for had not Rome a brilliant history to glory in, more so than any other city of the west, and did it not in many ways even then remind one of its former splendor? As a Roman Christian, for Rome was the residence of the pope, the vicar of Christ. And besides there were the cardinals and bishops of the Church. There in the holiest place on earth Mass could be celebrated. And here heaven was nearer by far than anywhere else. And where so many "holy people" lived, surely there, too, holy life abounded, a lofty example for all. Perhaps, that there he, too, could find the peace of mind, which thus far he had sought in vain!

And then the journey as such, though he entered upon the same in November or December, must have been a relief after all these years of fastings, prayers, castigations, and labors in the cloister, and especially so since the itinerary led through the most beautiful sections, and Luther had ever been a lover of nature. We know nothing in particular of the journey, except that the whole journey was made afoot. But whichever

way they went, every way to Rome was interesting. They were under way several weeks, living from alms, which as monks they received from the people, and lodging in various cloisters.

On the other side of the Alps the travellers became seriously ill, but God was with them. Luther was to see Rome. There were many things in Italy which Luther liked, the beautiful landscape, the noble customs, the sobriety in matters of drink compared with the proverbial drunkenness of the Germans. The footprint of a great past were evident on all sides. But he also noticed, that the Italians were deceitful and faithless, inclined to intrigue, vindictive, and of a more dissolute mind and conduct than the Germans. In the cloisters he observed much sin, dissipation, and degeneracy. But in Rome itself, he expected to find holiness.

When he approached the city, he fell upon his knees, spread out his arms and cried, "Hail, thou holy Rome, Hail!" He entered the city as a sacred place and found lodgings in a convent. From here he explored the city. What he had read in the writings of



THE CHURCH OF SANTA MARIA DEL POPULO, WHERE LUTHER READ
HIS FIRST MASS WHILE IN ROME



THE "STAIRS OF PILATE" AT ROME

Latin authors during his school days again took life and stood out vividly before his mind's eye. More than anything else he found himself attracted by the churches and cloisters. Surely it must be especially meritorious to pray here and celebrate Mass! At a later time he confessed, "Almost had I wished that my parents no longer lived, because I was so certain that in Rome I could pray them out of purgatory." It is unlikely that he saw the pope, for he was engaged in war at the time, but he saw the church where the pope sometimes celebrated High Mass. Still withal he found no rest. At St. John's place the chapel Sancta Sanctorum was open. A stairway of 28 steps, which was said at one time to have belonged to the palace of Pilate at Jerusalem, and thus was walked upon by the Lord Jesus, led to the chapel. For that reason he who ascended these steps on his knees could receive a plenary indulgence. There, too, Luther went. He threw himself upon his knees at the bottom of the stairway and one among many slowly began to climb. But while thus engaged he heard an inner voice saying,

"Who knows whether it is true?" The steps of Pilate brought him no peace.

But his eyes were opened in many other ways. He was astonished to find priests and monks so depraved; to find no virtues among the people, no Christian conduct, but the most heinous of sins. There was no reverence even for the holiest. Mass was celebrated in a mechanical and professional way, without devotion, in greatest haste. Once when he himself said Mass, he could not do it rapidly enough to please the Italians. Some of the priests openly ridiculed Mass and especially the people who still clung to it. "O, sacred Rome, yes, truly consecrated by the holy martyrs and their blood, there shed; but rent asunder; and the devil has cast the pope upon it!" he exclaimed at a later time. Or, "If there is a hell, Rome is built upon it, for there do all sins flourish!" He was glad when the time came to return to Germany. His Germans were rougher and ruder, but they were better and more sincere.

He had not been in Rome in vain. "I would not take 100,000 guilders for having

been in Rome," he said, "I might else still think, I am doing the pope an injustice. But what we see we speak." Still his relation to the Church remained unshaken. Because the rules of pious life were not taken seriously in Rome, was to him no proof that they themselves were wrong. Men must be more serious with the way of salvation as taught by the Church. And yet a sting remained. God knew why He had brought him to Rome.

8. Luther Is Made a Doctor of Divinity.

AFTER his return from Rome he continued at Erfurt for about a year. Then he was transferred to Wittenberg for the second time and became the leader of theological study in the Black Cloister (Augustinian Cloister). The year 1512 was destined to lead Luther another step in that career which without his knowledge or thought God had mapped out for him, he was to be made a doctor of theology, a doctor of divinity. Staupitz became the means through which God realized His purpose. Luther did not in the least think of becoming a doctor of theology. When Staupitz spoke to him about it he was much frightened. He felt that he was not equal to the task and raised many objections. Among other things he said, "I am but a poor and sick brother, who has but a short time to live. Look about for some healthy and able man. Mr. Staupitz, you will cost me my life." But Staupitz was firm. He remarked humorously, "It is clear, God will soon have much

to do in heaven and earth. He will need many young and ambitious doctors to do His business. Whether you live or die God needs you in His council." Staupitz was Luther's superior, to whom he had vowed obedience. He was forced to yield. Some time later he said, "No good work is done in one's own wisdom. I was drawn to the teaching office. Had I known what I know now, no ten horses would have drawn me."

October 18 and 19, 1512, his public promotion to the doctorate of theology took place. He was required to swear faithfully to adhere to the Holy Scripture, diligently to study the same, and to teach no doctrine condemned by the Church as heretical. The words which are put first, in later years became the source for much comfort, when Luther was constrained to testify against the false doctrines of the Roman Church. His oath, said he, authorized, yes obligated him to do so. Whilst a person in those days could be a doctor of divinity without knowing the Bible, and the honor did not involve a duty to lecture on the Bible, yet in Wittenberg there was a chair for Scripture inter-

pretation. This was assigned to Luther. It was originally founded for the Augustinian Cloister, but now was made part of the university. Thus he was led, yes forced into the Bible.

God well knew what He did. Luther was to learn the way of salvation from the Bible. By means of the Bible he was to experience and become certain that man is justified and saved through grace, for Christ's sake, in faith alone. As a teacher of the Bible with its central fact, Christ, he was to become the teacher of the Church through whom new life was instilled into the Church. And thus he immediately began to interpret and explain the Bible in his lectures, and often designated himself with peculiar emphasis, as "doctor of theology."

9. Luther Nails His 95 Theses to the Door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg.

1.

LUTHER was made a doctor of theology A.D. 1512. What was his attitude at that time over against the gospel? We remember, how in spite of all his meritorious works in the cloister he did not find the peace of his soul, but when a fellow monk called his attention to the words, "I believe a forgiveness of sins," and when Staupitz directed him to Christ as the Savior he was comforted, temporarily at least, and found peace. But only temporarily. For other statements of Holy Writ did not seem to coincide with the message of grace in Christ, they rather spoke of God as one who judges and punishes. Especially was Luther much disturbed over Romans 1:17, for he thought it is God's punitive justice of which St. Paul speaks. And, as he was well conscious of, he could never be justified before this. Thus

hours of rest and hours of ever increasing unrest took him in hand by turns, when Luther came to Wittenberg.

There at one time, between 1512 and 1513 (?), while in his room in the tower of the Augustinian cloister in which he still lived as a university professor, a light of better understanding dawned. He realized that the context of Romans 1:17, absolutely precludes the thought of the punitive justice of God and permits only the thought of the saving and life-giving justice of God. The gospel reveals to us that God has wrought a righteousness in Christ for our salvation,—that must be the meaning of these words. This understanding shed a bright light over the entire Bible. This was promised in the Old Testament, in history and prophecy, that man need not pave his own way to God, God has done so himself through His Son; that Christ is come, and through His life, suffering and death has paved the way to the Father. (John 14:6.) Whoever believes on Him, him does God give righteousness, forgives his sins, regards and receives him as His child. With this knowledge given him

by the Spirit Luther had found the truth. He had become an evangelical Christian.

Of course, the old thoughts of the meritorious character of works still came back, and his theology for a number of years was still a peculiar mixture of Roman error and evangelical truth; but God did not withdraw from him. He led him to ever increasing understanding and clearness, especially so since Luther as doctor of divinity lectured regularly on the Bible. Again it was the Epistle to the Romans, which he explained to his students, 1515, that fortified him in his evangelical understanding. The sun may have risen, and yet clouds come, which must be dispelled, before he reigns supreme in the heavens. And thus also Luther's evangelical knowledge and understanding developed, and especially also his theology. 1515-1516 he, who had been an evangelical Christian for some years, also became an evangelical theologian, who in his lectures more and more courageously combated the old erroneous doctrines of the Middle Ages, and demanded a decided return to Augustine and beyond Augustine to the Holy Scriptures.

That natural man is wholly incapable of doing good, that he can do nothing to work the true faith in his heart, that it is the grace of God only, which has set the salvation of man in Christ, and that sinful man is righteous and blessed, as soon as the grace of God has worked faith in Christ, the Savior, in his heart: these were doctrines which he now, as professor at the university, and as preacher in his pulpit, taught and expounded with growing clearness. The students at the university flocked to him. Professors at the university like Carlstadt and Amsdorf espoused his cause. But his relation to the Roman Church was not yet dissolved. Luther did not even think of such a thing. A renewal of the reigning theology in the Roman Church and a renewal of life in her ranks was deemed imperative, but not a separation. He believed the papal Church was capable of being renewed. Luther was not one of those turbulent, impatient, violent natures, that feel constrained immediately to sever all connections with a religious organization, the moment they notice that it suffers from grievous errors and defects.



ST. PETER'S CHURCH AT ROME

Building was begun 1506 after Bramantes' plans, continued by Michael Angelo, who is credited with its cupola, and finished after many interruptions in 1637, when the double colonnades were completed.

And even when he hurled his first public attack against the doctrine and practice of his Church, every thought of separation was foreign to his mind.

This attack was provoked by the indulgence traffic. No institution of the Roman Church so clearly shows how corruption increased in her midst, as the indulgence traffic. A thousand years before Luther's time the idea became current, that certain flagrant sinners could not be restored to the communion of the Church before they had taken upon themselves certain punishments imposed by the Church. About 500 years later it was maintained these punishments could be remitted by the Church, provided the sinner would perform some special act for the church, for instance, donate a parcel of land to a cloister, or give a sum of money, or undertake a crusade against unbelievers. This remission of the Church punishments was called "indulgences." The Church could remit the punishment without sinning, for she had herself pronounced it. Meanwhile indulgence had developed into something quite different. The Church maintained that

it could also forgive sin, and remit the temporal punishment which God sends, yes could even remit the punishment in purgatory after death, provided men pay the price which it demanded. But with this the Church violated the right of God, for God only can forgive sins, remit temporal punishment, decide the fate of the dead—all this belongs to the domain of God and not the Church. And least of all can any man purchase freedom from sin, temporal and eternal punishment with money. Where does the work and merit of Christ come in, where faith, where the direct admittance of the sinner to God?

But how did such an awful doctrine take rise? Because it meant much money for the individual cloisters and bishops, and the pope at Rome. The more the Church noticed what a splendid source of income indulgence proved, the more did the pope proclaim an indulgence, the more the indulgence traffickers journeyed through the land, and finally offered this, remission of sins, remission of purgatory, remission of temporal punishment of God for money. What a ter-



THE PSEUDO-INDULGENCES

rible fraud practiced on poor souls! To obtain the forgiveness of sins, to pronounce the forgiveness of sins—it had become a financial transaction pure and simple! And at last not the popes decided when the indulgence venders were to travel through the land and offer these three mercies for sale, but the great banking houses, who had lent money to the pope or the bishops, and in this way sought to get payment of the debt.

In 1514 the Bishop of Magdeburg and Halberstadt sought to become Archbishop of Mainz. That was contrary to all canons of the Church that one man should have three bishoprics. But the pope agreed to elevate Albrecht to this honor and vest all three offices in him provided he paid the sum of $110,000 into his coffers. The archbishop accepted the proposition and immediately borrowed the amount from the greatest banking house of the day, the Fuggers in Augsburg, and Fugger prevailed upon the pope to proclaim a plenary indulgence for the diocese of Albrecht and beyond, a full remission in regard to these three points. One-half of the proceeds was to be used to



TETZEL'S TRAFFIC OF INDULGENCES

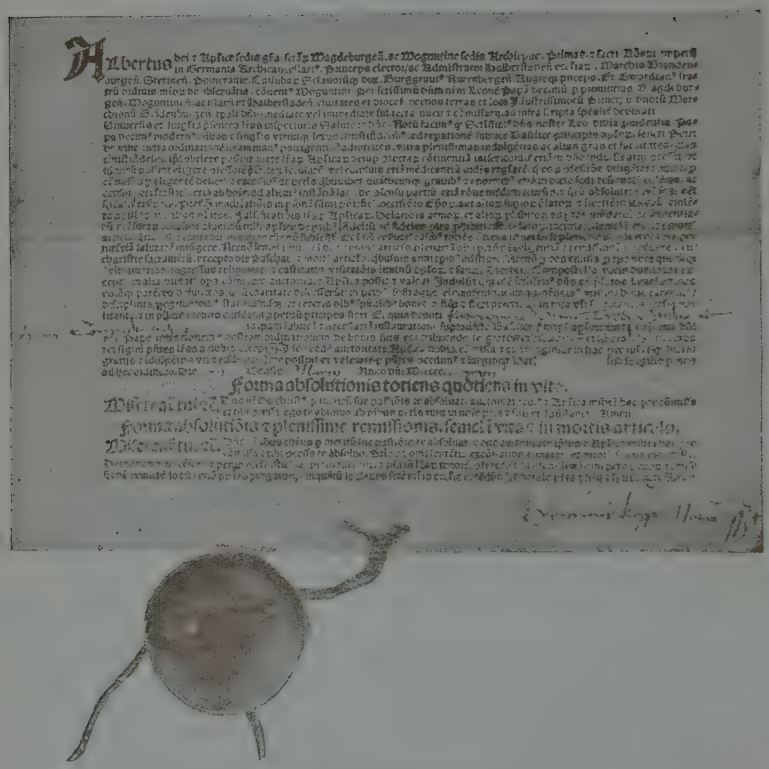
pay Albrecht's debt to the Fuggers, the other half for the building of St. Peter's Church at Rome.

John Tetzel undertook the job of advertising and selling the indulgences throughout the land. He was singularly qualified for this business. And especially did he know how to paint the terrors of purgatory in the most lurid colors, and thus prevail upon many to purchase the indulgence for departed relatives. "As soon as the money tinkles in the chest, the soul flies from purgatory to heaven," are words actually used by Tetzel, and they were well in conformity with his instructions. "Come, come, will you not invest 10, 5, ¼ gulden to get remission of all your sins, and freedom from the terrors of purgatory?"—he harangued the people and incited them to purchase his wares. There is still in existence an indulgence slip which a mother bought of Tetzel for a gold gulden. It reads as follows, "I absolve thee from all dissipations, sins, and crimes, which thou hast committed, of whatever kind, and however great and heavy. I remit unto thee all pains which thou perforce



TRUE INDULGENCES

Wood engraving by Hans Holbein



LETTER OF INDULGENCES FOR THE BENEFIT OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH

Granted to Widow Katharina von Trebra at Gehofen and her sons, Hans and Konrad, in the name of Archbishop Albrecht von Mainz, March 3, 1517, and signed by the Notary Public Heinricus Kappe. With affixed seal.

wouldst have suffered in purgatory. I restore to thee the participation in the Holy Sacraments. I again receive thee into the bosom of the Church. I restore the former state of innocence and purity, into which thy baptism placed thee, so that in the event of thy death the portal through which souls pass into the place of torment is closed before thee, but the portals of Paradise shall be opened thee. And if thou art not called hence soon, this grace shall remain unaltered to thy death.—In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Could Luther remain silent when some of his Wittenberg parishioners purchased these indulgences?

2.

As far back as spring 1516 Luther had heard of Tetzel's doings and had several times preached against them, so for instance July 27 and October 31, 1516, and also February 24, 1517. And in so doing he had especially emphasized the fact that in this indulgence traffic, as carried on by Tetzel, the most important factor, namely sorrow over

sin, repentance, change of heart, was not duly recognized. As this traffic grew, friends and strangers alike demanded of Luther, whose reputation and good name had already spread, to express himself, for Tetzel far exceeded any of his predecessors in his impudence. And then in addition to this the members of his church—for Luther at this time was not only professor at the university but also had charge of the pulpit and the confessional, assisting the pastor of Wittenberg—would no longer be directed to the sorrow over sin, rather when in the confessional he admonished them to repent, they would show him the indulgence slips which they had bought and say, We do not need to repent, for we have already purchased the forgiveness of our sins. Thus it became a duty for Luther openly to assail the error of the indulgence traffic. Had he now refrained from speaking he would have been guilty of faithlessness in office, and would have permitted his parishioners to rush into perdition without having warned them. Since he had become firmly convinced of the falsity of the indulgence traffic and its danger for



AFTER NAILING THE THESES

After a drawing by A. Rethel, engraved by C. Mueller

souls, he was responsible before God for every soul which might be lost because of his silence. And since it had become a public scandal he must needs publicly attack it, so that the nuisance might be combated and squelched at other places also.

It is true in many of the detail matters of the indulgence Luther was not yet clear in his own mind. The fundamental fact, of course, he clearly saw and understood, "all indulgence is wrong which in any way exempts man from sorrow over sin, from repentance, i. e., the conversion of the heart." But it was quite another question, just how much the pope, the bishops, and the priests had to do with the remission of sins over against the sinner who was sincerely repentant, or whether in addition to the contrition of the heart and the confession of the mouth, satisfaction through external deeds formed an integral part of repentance, as was taught in the Middle Ages. And who was to dictate the kind and the measure of such satisfaction, or who remit it, etc. Luther's knowledge and convictions in that stage of his development were not yet finished. In

many matters he himself still sought clarity. The principal chain that had fettered him indeed had fallen, but so many things which he had learned in his youth still bound him. Of this, too, God must gradually free him through the testimony of Holy Writ.

When in Luther's day important matters were publicly to be discussed by scholars, men were wont to propound certain statements or propositions and post them on the public markets, or church doors, or at the street corners, where many people passed, or to distribute them as dodgers and pamphlets. Thus Luther also chose this way when he wished publicly to express his opinion on indulgences and call forth a discussion among theologians and other scholars as to the legality and propriety of the same. He condensed his opinion of indulgences into 95 theses or propositions and wrote these in Latin on a large sheet of paper. In Wittenberg it was customary to post such scrolls on the door of the Castle Church. Thus this also behooved Luther to do. And a better time to publish his attitude towards indugence than the 31st of October or the 1st of November



THE CASTLE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG
Wood engraving by Cranach, 1509.

The sidewalk at the left leads to the "Theses" door. The hill in the background is an imaginary addition by the artist.

could not be found. For it was customary in Wittenberg to observe the anniversary of the dedication of the Castle Church, November first. And since many relics (i. e., remains of holy persons and things) were preserved in this church and for that reason all who attended church on that occasion received a remission of the penalties imposed by the Church, many people flocked to the church on that day. Luther improved the occasion and posted his theses to the door of the Castle Church. This was October 31st, the day on which the celebration began. The thousands who assembled on this holiday were thus forced to see them, and since some of them understood Latin and many of them had purchased indulgences they must needs have an increased interest in these propositions.

These propositions or theses were meant to be

1) a strong protest against all indulgence traffic claiming to absolve the sinner from the need of true repentance which must pervade the whole life and constantly be renewed:



POPE LEO X WITH VICE CHANCELLOR GIULIO MEDICI AND CARDINAL LUDOVICO ROSSI

After a painting by Raffael

2) a challenge publicly to discuss the many other questions related to this matter.

As far as the first of these two points is concerned, Scripture and his own experience had thoroughly convinced him of its truth. Here he could not remit one jot, but hoped to win all sincere souls to his point of view. As to the second, he felt that a public discussion of the many questions pertinent to this matter could only bring him greater clarity.

The most important propositions read as follows:

1) Our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, in saying, "Repent ye," etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence.

2) This word, penitence, can not be understood of sacramental penance, i. e., of the confession and satisfaction performed under the ministry of the priests.

5) The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties, except those that he has imposed by his own authority, or by that of the canons.

13) The dying pay all penalties by death, and are already dead to the canon laws, and are by right relieved from them.

36) Every Christian who feels true sor-

row has of right plenary remission of pain and guilt, even without letters of pardon.

37) Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and the Church, given him by God, even without letters of pardon.

38) The remission, however, imparted by the pope is by no means to be despised, since, as already indicated, it is a declaration of the divine remission.

41) Apostolic pardons ought to be proclaimed with caution, lest the people should falsely suppose that they are placed before other good works of charity.

The effect of these theses was enormous. The place before the Castle Church did not become empty. On printed slips they soon found their way beyond Wittenberg, into all sections of Germany, "as if the angels themselves had been the messengers." With much opposition they found still more approbation, and were received by thousands as a real liberation. Dr. Fleck, reading them, exclaimed, "Aha, He will do it! He comes, for whom we waited so long!" Luther himself was much surprised over the commotion

which his theses called forth. He had appealed to scholars and the movement became nation-wide. But he kept his head. To all opposition he answered simply, "If it has not happened according to God's will, it will soon be lost, but has it begun in His name, who will hinder it? May His will be done." "It will not be tolerated!" he was told. "But how, if they will have to tolerate it!" he rejoined.

Now, if Luther in posting his theses, did nothing, but what other scholars before and after him did, if he appealed only to scholars, and wrote his propositions not in the vernacular but in the language of the learned, the Latin, and yet a commotion followed, that became nation-wide, caused the whole Church to tremble and became the beginning of the reformation and renewal of the Church and her return to Christ—then surely in this insignificant affair before the church door at Wittenberg, October 31, 1517, we can not but see the mighty hand of God, which knows well how to reach the great through the small, and to make the seemingly insignificant an epoch in the history of the Church and the world.

10. Luther's First Tilt in His Controversy with Rome.

WHEN Luther posted his ninety-five theses against indulgences no thought was more foreign to him than a controversy with the Roman Church or a rupture with the same; but before he realized it he was in the midst of the combat. It is evident that God himself would now deal the decisive blow. He shaped things so that Rome's henchmen themselves forced Luther to the fight.

On the same day on which Luther had posted his theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg he had also issued an appeal to the Archbishop of Mainz, complaining about the way in which by his authority indulgences were hawked. But the Archbishop, who feared that Luther's stand would hinder the traffic and thus diminish his revenue, accused him in Rome. Pope Leo X remanded the whole affair to Cardinal Cajetan, his counsellor in matters of the faith, for his opinion. The Cardinal imme-

diately saw that Luther's theses and his other writings not only condemned indulgences, but also involved two extremely important propositions: 1. Luther denied to natural man every power for what is truly good. 2. Luther taught that sinners are justified before God and saved only through the faith in Christ. According to Romish teachings, those indeed were two extremely dangerous propositions, for Rome held that natural man still has much power for good, and that he must truly exercise these in good works, in order to be saved. Words of Jesus like John 3:5, and words of Paul like Eph. 2:1; 1 Cor. 2:14; Rom. 8:7; Eph. 2:8; Rom. 3:28, had been completely forgotten. Still the pope regarded it as best to wait for further reports about Luther before he took action against him.

These reports were not long in coming. Tetzel had succeeded in mobilizing the order of Dominican monks, to which he himself belonged, against Luther. And here he succeeded all the better because the Dominican brethren were filled with envy when they saw how Luther attracted students in great

numbers, and the Augustinian order thus forged ahead to honor and respect. He charged Luther at Rome with heresy. And since he possessed a very able advocate at Rome, he also, for the first at least, accomplished his purpose. A papal writing was immediately despatched to Staupitz, Luther's superior, who was ordered to force Luther to recant. Staupitz merely handed this order to Luther. But Luther answered, March 31, 1518, "I teach men to depend only on Jesus Christ and not on their own merits through prayer and other good works, because we can not be saved through our own power, but only through the mercy of God. I can not recant that." It seemed as though Tetzel's prophecy would become true, namely, that Luther would die at the stake in a few months, especially since the latter also issued a German treatise, in which he opposed indulgences before all the people, and designated the sacrificial death of Christ and penitent faith as the only true way of salvation. And indeed, the attempt was made by means of papal writings and all sorts of papal favors to make of the Saxon

Elector a pliable tool, and induce him to deliver up Luther, or at least deprive him of his chair at the university. And the Dominicans prepared to get him into their power during his journey to Heidelberg, where he was cited by his superiors by the end of April.

But God had not forgotten his servant. Instead of his Elector listening to the flattery of the pope, he rather in his heart turned more and more to Luther and his teachings, and perfected the most far reaching preparations for his protection, so that he might travel with safety to Heidelberg and also safely return. And at Heidelberg, too, where Luther had been cited by his superiors, and was to be committed to the executioner as a convicted and obstinate heretic, if he refused to recant, God so shaped things, that Luther could explain the principles of his whole theology before his brethren of the Augustinian order and also before Dominicans who had come. He emphasized that true theology must not be taken from the writings of men but only from the writing of God, the Holy Scriptures, and that the central truth of the Holy Scriptures are none other than:



FREDERICK THE WISE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY

Copper engraving by A. Dürer, 1524

1. Man is incapable of doing the truly good and thus become righteous before God. 2. Man is freed from the guilt and power of sin in no other way than through the faith in the grace of God, in Christ, the Crucified. And this "theology of the cross" he championed with such conquering power that Dominicans could not cause him to swerve a finger's breadth from his convictions. His own fellow monks of the Augustinian order did not think of demanding a revocation of him, but publicly espoused his cause. Especially Brenz of Wuerttemberg and the Dominican Butzer were most deeply impressed, and later became decided advocates of the Reformation. And princes, too, like the Bishop of Wuerzburg, and the Count Palatine Wolfgang, were favorably influenced by him. Thus the first attempt to silence Luther and deliver him up to the papal chair had failed. God had kept His hand over him.

Returning from Heidelberg to Wittenberg Luther published a justification and an explanation of his theses in the Latin language, in June, and sent a copy to the pope, to enable him to ascertain and judge whether

he was really a heretic. In an accompanying letter to the pope he appealed to the fact that by virtue of his dignity as a doctor of divinity, conferred on him by authority of the pope, he was justified publicly to debate on the highest questions of science. He also called attention to the impudence of the indulgence preachers, who only hurt the Church by the way in which they hawked their wares. Rome, of course, only heard the one word, "I will not revoke." And when Luther in a pamphlet, written in German, appealed to the whole people not to condemn him as a heretic without a careful investigation of his whole matter, and closed with the words, "I am not so foolhardy as to put my opinion above others, nor so regardless of responsibility as to betray God's Word for the figments of men. Jesus Christ lives and reigns yesterday, today, and forever," Rome was less inclined than ever to retreat in the least. Again the Dominicans appealed to the papal throne and demanded immediate action against Luther. The Dominican Sylvester Prierias by authority of the Pope wrote an opinion

on Luther's doctrines, and on the basis of this it was decided Luther must appear in Rome within 60 days and personally answer for himself. In those days many paths led to Rome, but none led back again. And a journey to Rome would have been the same thing for Luther as a journey to the stake.

Luther and his Elector had scarcely taken a stand over against this citation, when Rome, as a result of another trumped up charge on the part of the Dominicans and a new political turn of events, resolved upon an even harsher procedure against him. Only 14 days had elapsed of the 60, when Luther was declared a heretic without further ado, and the ban hurled against him, unless he recanted and appeared in person. Cajetan, who represented the pope at the Diet of Augsburg (1518) at the time, was authorized to get him into his power. Even the thought of proceeding against the Elector himself, was seriously considered, if he continued to champion Luther's case.

Thus it seemed as if Luther's fate was sealed. But God so shaped the political situation, that the pope needed the support of

REV. THEO. DeLANEY
LUTHERAN PASTOR FOR DEAF
SAN FRANCISCO

the Elector, and the latter immediately improved the situation for Luther's protection. Thus it came about that the sentence against Luther was not executed; Luther, instead of proceeding to Rome, was permitted to defend himself before Cajetan. This meant a great gain.

October, 1518, Luther entered upon his journey to answer before the learned Cajetan, who was invested with every papal authority. It was his first tilt in his controversy with Rome. Even now he in nowise thought of a rupture with the Mother Church. He was only greatly amazed over this action against him. For even yet he regarded himself as a good Catholic, and, as he wrote to Staupitz, was grateful to God, who had given him the true understanding of what repentance and faith are. On the other hand he knew only too well how active his enemies were, especially the Dominicans, and that he could trust but little in Rome and its representative. Thus he went to Augsburg, though not without fear. When frightened and intimidated friends cautioned him not to appear before the Car-

dinal, he had still so far regained his courage that he wrote one of them, "Even in Augsburg Jesus Christ reigns in the midst of His enemies. Jesus lives; let Martinus die!" He went to Augsburg without a letter of safe-conduct. But on reaching Augsburg, he was finally persuaded by his friends not to present himself before the Cardinal until a safe-conduct had been assured him.

But even before Luther had met Cajetan, an Italian representative of the Cardinal came to him, and tried to make him understand, that he attached too much importance to his doctrine of repentance and indulgence; it was only a matter of three syllables, "Revoco," I revoke or recant, and surely this was easily said! Amazed and disgusted, Luther turned from this Italian who had no conception of what principles are and how a German and a Christian finds it self-evident to defend them. And when the Italian asked him where he would stay if the Elector refused to back him with his sword, he answered, "Under the heavens!"

On the 12th day of October Luther went to Cajetan himself. According to the cus-

tom of the day, he greeted him submissively; but when the latter refused to enter into any kind of a discussion, but simply demanded a revocation of everything Luther had written about repentance and indulgence, he defended his teaching with great firmness, so that Cajetan was much astonished both over his courage and his learning. Above all things, Luther was ordered to revoke two statements, 1) that indulgence does not represent the treasure of the merit of Christ; 2) that without faith no one can receive the Sacrament of the Altar with blessing. The second day Luther declared in writing and before witnesses who were brought for that purpose, that he had been obedient to the Roman Church in all things and intended to continue so, but that he would revoke the above statements if he were convinced of their error from Holy Writ and the Church Fathers. But Cajetan insisted upon his demand, though he permitted Luther to defend his teaching in writing and submit this writing to him. Luther, fully persuaded of the grave importance of his statements, wrote a splen-

did defense. But when he submitted this to Cajetan, the latter contemptuously cast it aside and again demanded a revocation. Luther firmly refused. Then Cajetan informed him that he had received authority from the pope to excommunicate him, unless he submitted. Even now Luther remained firm. The Cardinal cried, "Go! recant or never come to me again!" And to Staupitz, who had also come to Augsburg, he said at a later time, "I do not care to talk with this beast any more, for he has deep eyes, and amazing speculations in his head." Thus Luther went away. October 20th, he followed the advice of his friends, secretly left Augsburg, and returned to Wittenberg. Before he left, Staupitz voluntarily absolved him from his obedience to his superiors in the order.

The first tilt in this controversy with Rome was now past. Externally it ended with defeat for Luther, for now he was likely to be excommunicated by the pope; but in reality he was the victor, for he had faithfully defended the truth and was filled with tranquillity and peace.

11. Luther's Second Tilt in His Controversy with Rome.

LUTHER'S first tilt in his conflict with Rome, namely, the hearing before Cajetan in Augsburg, was barren of results as far as Rome was concerned. Luther had proven his manhood. But Rome clearly recognized what must first be done if it would win. Before Cajetan and otherwise, Luther had repeatedly appealed to the fact that there were conflicting views within the Church concerning indulgence, and that for this reason he was justified in calling himself a faithful son of the Church, though he differed from others in his views of indulgence. It was apparent, therefore, that this argument must be taken from him. Accordingly a new papal brief was issued at Rome, which unconditionally declared Luther's teaching on indulgence rank heresy. In this way Rome thought to have fulfilled the first condition for making Luther impossible. The papal chamberlain, Carl von Miltitz, was



DISPUTATION BETWEEN LUTHER AND ECK AT THE PLEISSENBURG IN LEIPSIG



LUTHER'S LECTURE ROOM IN THE CLOISTER

Luther lectured here, not in the university building

sent to Wittenberg, to accomplish the arrest of Luther and bring him to Rome. This could only be done, however, with the aid of the Elector of Saxony, who had thus far protected Luther. But this, too, could be arranged, Rome felt. The Elector had at one time expressed the desire to possess the golden rose, which could only be bestowed by the pope and was looked upon as a high honor. And now Miltitz was delegated to bring the golden rose to the Elector, who in turn was to accede to the pope's wish and abandon Luther. But when Miltitz reached Germany and saw what dimensions the movement had assumed, he arbitrarily changed his role and played the mediator between Luther and the pope. He neither demanded of Luther to retract his teachings nor of the Elector to abandon Luther. He contented himself with Luther's promise not to write against indulgence, as long as his opponents also kept quiet, and to submit to the decision of a German bishop.

Luther kept his word, and for the present a second tilt with Rome seemed out of question. Luther employed this period of

rest and quiet for diligent study. Especially did he take up the study of Greek with Melanchthon, who had been called to a chair in Wittenberg in 1518, so that he was soon proficient in this original language of the New Testament. He would have been glad to devote himself entirely to his studies, and only to expound his evangelical convictions from his pulpit and at the university. But Luther's opponents would not keep their peace. They attacked his doctrine publicly and thus again forced him into the arena.

The talented, but vain and aggressive theologian, Johann Eck, published a set of propositions, in which he challenged Luther's friend and colleague, Carlstadt, to public debate at Leipzig. But it was clear from the outset that the animus of these propositions was directed against Luther rather than Carlstadt. Luther had at one time casually made the statement, that during the first centuries the bishop of Rome did not occupy a superior position in his relation to the other bishops. This casual remark of Luther was taken up by Eck, who

asserted the reverse, namely, that the bishop of Rome, the pope, had always been recognized as the successor of Peter and Christ. Thus drawn into the controversy by Eck, Luther could not but break his silence and defend his proposition against Eck. The latter well knew that this new controversy must be of the greatest importance, for now it was no longer a question of indulgence, but of the origin and age of popery. If he could induce Luther to deny the divine right of popery, then Luther was done with. And yet in the final analysis it was not Eck who forced Luther again to the arena, but God Himself, who would have the great work of the Reformation, now begun, carried to a victory.

Thus in June, 1519, Carlstadt and Luther proceeded to Leipzig. Some 240 students accompanied them. In the largest hall of the city, in the old castle of Pleissenburg, the disputation with Eck was publicly to take place. The professors of the university, Duke George of Saxony, many nobles, and a great concourse of people were present. During the first week Carlstadt disputed

with Eck; Luther kept in the background. But on the fourth of July Luther himself took part and the controversy immediately focussed on the question, whether popedom is a divine institution or not, and continued for five days without interruption. It is not surprising that this matter was not soon dropped. For if popery is an institution of God, so that the pope is the visible head of the Church on earth, then no one can belong to the Church of Jesus Christ unless he submits to the pope. If, on the other hand, the sovereignity of the pope is the result of a gradual development like any other secular dynasty, then one might oppose the pope and yet remain within the pale of the Church of Jesus Christ. Luther now proved that the Bible does not give to Peter a supremacy over the other apostles, so that he can not be termed the supreme bishop, and no dominion over other bishops can be attributed to Peter's successors (namely the popes). These did not receive their authority from Christ, but usurped this authority in the course of the centuries. Luther also called attention to the fact that the Greek Church

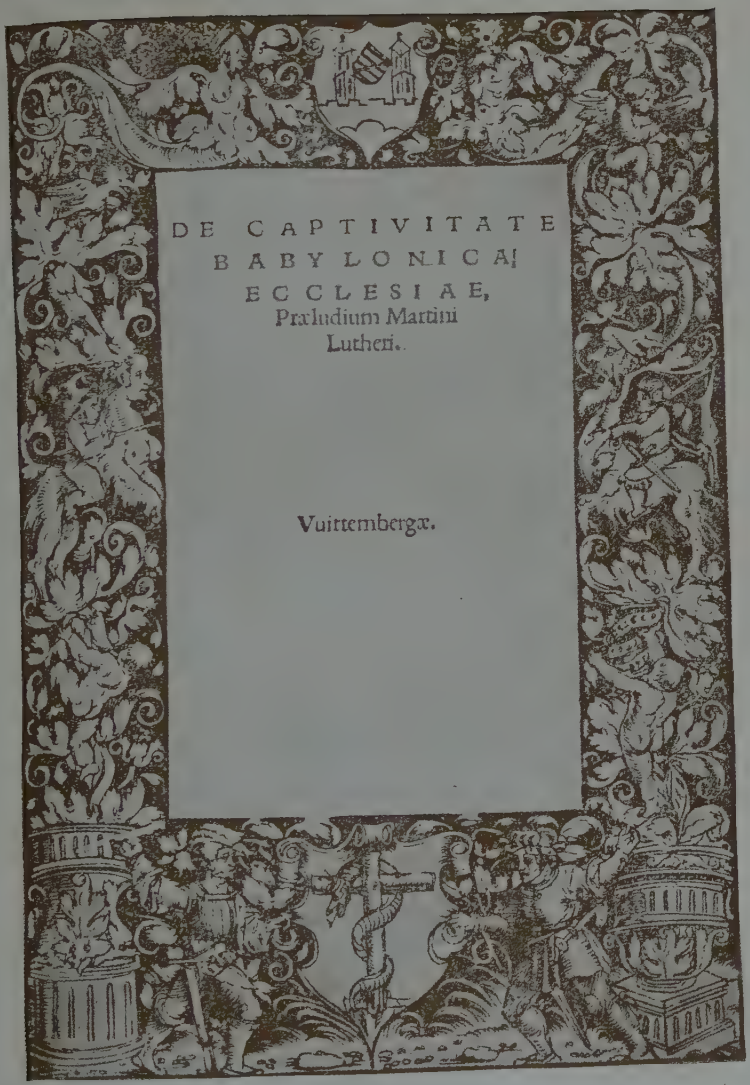
never recognized the pope, and yet it is not called heretical. And when Eck now quickly called the Greek Church heretical, Luther asked him whether he would declare the many saints and the Greek Church fathers heretics, because they knew nothing of the pope? Eck answered nothing to this question, but in his embarrassment immediately called attention to the fact that the Church Council at Constance had declared the statement of Hus, that obedience to the pope is not a condition of salvation, a heresy. He tried thereby to force Luther on the side of Hus, who had been burned at the stake in 1415 as a heretic. And he really succeeded in getting Luther to make the statement, "There are many good and Christian tenets among the declarations of Hus, which no council can condemn, and the belief in the supremacy of the pope actually does not condition salvation." That, indeed, was a momentous statement, which would bring Luther the antagonism of most of his contemporaries. For it was commonly accepted that a council is infallible. And when Luther made the statement, Duke George

exclaimed aloud, "Das walt die Sucht!"* whereupon Eck immediately pronounced Luther a heathen and a publican. But Luther maintained this declaration. Eck triumphed, for he said to himself, Luther's destruction is now assured. The Elector must abandon him and the pope condemn him to death as a heretic.

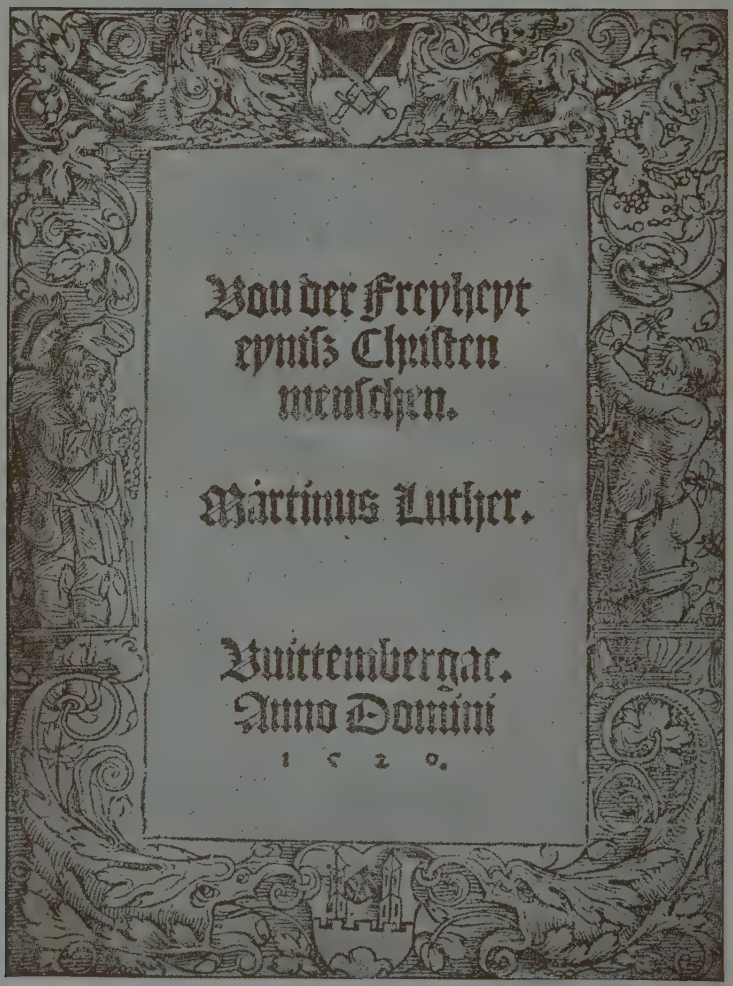
Thus it seemed as though Luther's second tilt in the controversy with Rome should end with his final defeat.

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* A bit of German profanity equivalent to Confound it! or the like.



TITLE-PAGE OF LUTHER'S WRITING: "OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH," 1520



TITLE-PAGE OF THE WRITING, "OF THE FREEDOM OF A CHRISTIAN MAN," 1520

12. Luther's Rupture with Rome.

LUTHER had declared at Leipzig that it is not necessary for salvation to accept the divine authority of the pope. Thus he reached out after the crown of the pope, and challenged Rome to open battle. No wonder that Rome now instituted proceedings against him. A commission was appointed to investigate his case and pave the way for his condemnation according to the accepted canons of the day. Of course, Luther's old opponent, Johann Eck, must needs have a hand in these proceedings. He hurried to Rome, and succeeded in getting much more stringent measures adopted against Luther than had originally been planned. Luther's doctrine was solemnly condemned and the burning of all his writings ordered. Luther himself was not yet formally excommunicated, though the ban was threatened, provided he did not recant. They well knew why. For they feared a riot in Germany, where Luther was continually gaining more influence and prestige among the people, the

scholars, and the nobility, and where he had found a powerful protector in the Elector. The document which contains the verdict and was signed by the pope is called the papal bull. Eck was commissioned to publish it broadcast in Germany.

Luther knew of this but would not be intimidated. In fact this news merely forced him to proceed still farther in the given direction. And especially so, since meanwhile he had learned that the pope's claim to secular power was based on an unscrupulous falsification of a certain document, which only served to confirm him in his opinion, that the pope is the great enemy of God and of the faithful, that he is the Antichrist.

During these years the opposition of the German people against Rome also increased. From all parts there came much complaint against papal tyranny, and German nobles began openly to offer Luther their support. Besides, the newly elected emperor, Charles V, though a native of Spain, was regarded as a friend of the German nation. All these facts served to strengthen Luther's courage. But the principal factor was, that God's

Word was on his side, and his conscience constrained him to proceed in this matter, into which he had been thrust contrary to his will.

Thus in 1520, from August to November, Luther wrote three powerful writings.

The first bore the heading, "An Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate." Here he showed how the Romanists have built three walls about them, thus, like a fortress, to be safeguarded against all enemies. This is the first wall: The people have been told, indeed taught so from childhood up, that the spiritual or churchly (i. e., papal) power is far supreme to all temporal power, so that it is at the discretion of the former to appoint or depose kings and emperors, and to absolve all subjects from the oath of allegiance to them. And this is the second: The people have been taught that no one can or dare interpret the Scriptures except the pope, as he interprets it, it must be accepted and believed in if man is to be saved. The third wall is: Romanists claim and universally teach that no one but the pope can call a legal

council (i. e., a Church meeting, synod). If this were true, then, indeed, there is but one supreme lord on earth, namely, the pope, and there is no way to proceed against him; nothing remains but absolute submission. But Luther proved that all three of these claims were without Scriptural foundation and not taught during the first centuries of the Church. And since the pope and the Church did not consider the welfare of the people, they themselves through their nobility and their government must take the reform of the state into their own hands. This writing of Luther's created a deep impression throughout Germany and was widely approved.

During the month of October Luther sent out his second writing. It was entitled: "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church." Here he shows, that as King Nebuchadnezzar once held the children of Israel captive in Babylon, so also the Roman Church has invented the doctrine of the seven sacraments and therewith enslaves the souls of men. Rome invented sacraments which Christ never established, and corrupted

those which Christ did establish. He shows especially how the beautiful biblical doctrine of Holy Communion is corrupted and made to mean its very opposite, for the cup is withheld from the laity. They invented the doctrine, that through the consecration by the priest bread and wine are changed into body and blood. They transformed the Lord's Supper into the Mass, which they call a meritorious work, and in which the priest is said to repeat, though in an unbloody way, the sacrifice of Christ on the cross for the benefit of the living and the dead, and thus he is the mediator between God and man. This writing gave popery the worst blow.

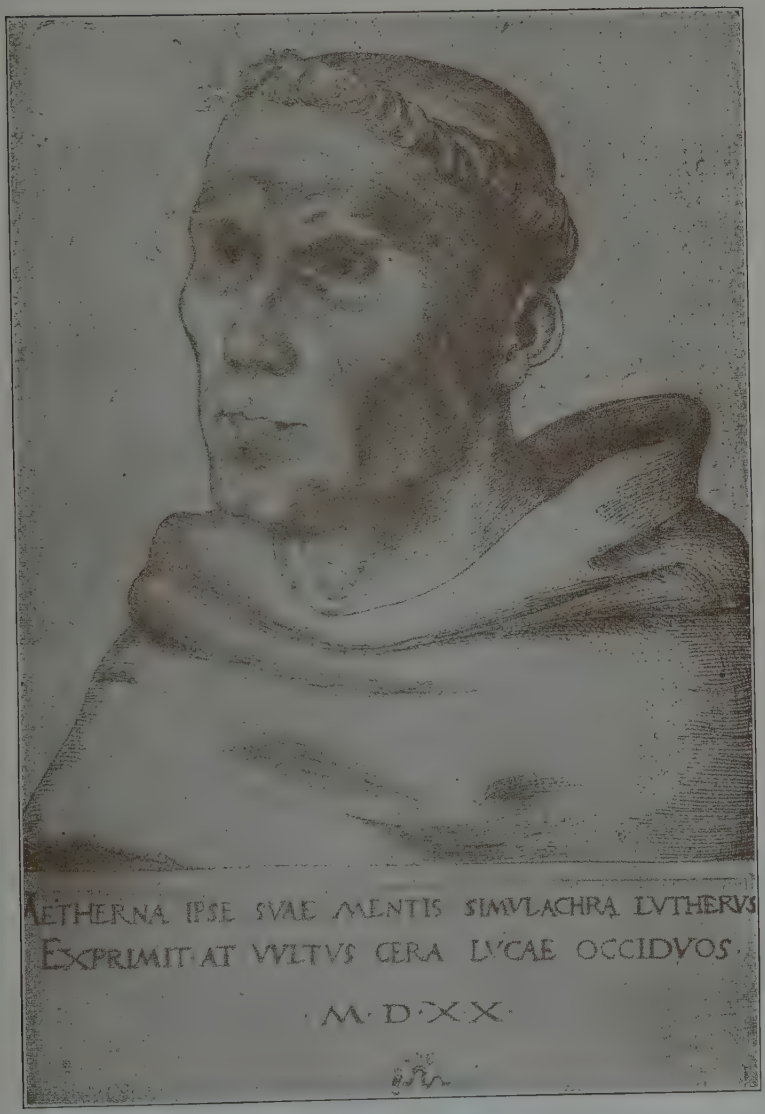
The third writing appeared in November and bore the caption: "A Treatise on Christian Liberty." In this wonderful essay, Luther extols the lofty meaning of faith, and with reference to 1 Cor. 9:19, includes the sum total of Christian life in the two statements:

1. Through faith a Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, and subject to none.

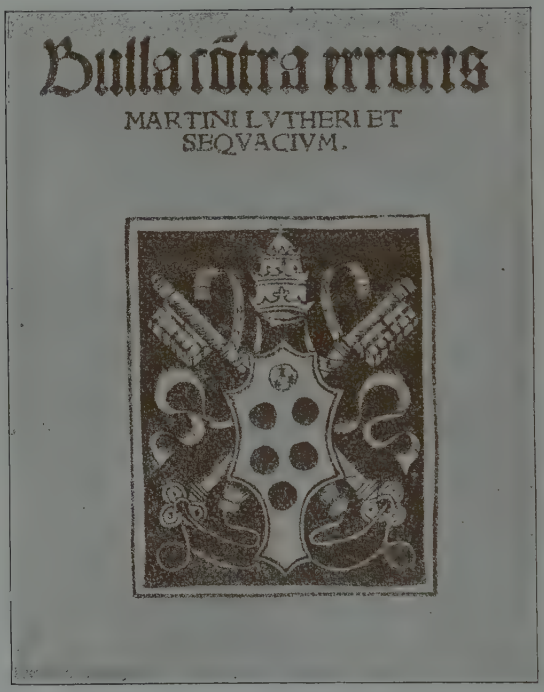
2. Through love a Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.

With these three writings of the year 1520, the antagonism to Rome had become irreparable. And then Luther capped the climax: December 10 outside the Elstergate at Wittenberg in the presence of the representatives of the university he solemnly consigned the papal bull against him, of which Eck had also sent a copy to Wittenberg, to the fire. The rupture with Rome had now grown beyond repair, and during the first days of 1521 the pope placed Luther under the ban (i. e., formally and solemnly excluded him from the Church and all her blessings, and thus also from eternal salvation), and demanded of the secular government to execute him.

But God's thoughts are not men's thoughts. Instead of Luther being put to death as a heretic, his real and most important work now began: he became the reformer of the Church.



LUTHER AS AUGUSTINIAN MONK
Copper engraving by L. Cranach, 1520



PAPAL BULL AGAINST THE HERESIES OF M. LUTHER AND HIS FOLLOWERS

In the center is the coat-of-arms of the Medicis, whose descendant Pope Leo X was; five balls and the three lilies of Florence. Besides, the threefold Papal Crown and the "keys of St. Peter."

After a print of 1520

13. Luther at Worms.

1.

DECEMBER 10, 1520, Luther had solemnly burned the papal bull, which condemned his doctrine, ordered the destruction of his writings, and threatened to put him under the ban. Thus he had severed his connection with Rome. Several months later, during the first days of 1521, the pope did hurl the ban against Luther, i. e., solemnly excluded him from the Church and thus also from heaven and its bliss, and demanded of the secular government to execute him as a heretic, or at least put him under the imperial ban and declare him outlawed. Usually the papal ban i. e., the exclusion from the Church, was followed by the imperial ban, the exclusion from the State, for Church and State in those days were so closely united, that the State had become merely the servant of the Church.

Now, however, conditions and circumstances had taken a dangerous turn. The



EMPEROR CHARLES V. IN HIS THIRTY-FIRST YEAR

youthful Charles of Spain, grand-son of Emperor Maximilian, had just been elected emperor of Germany, as Charles V. The pope would gladly have frustrated his election, which had been forced through by the secular representatives, notably the Elector of Saxony. The emperor was in no hurry to accede to the pope's demand and put Luther under the imperial ban, especially since Luther was a subject of the Elector of Saxony, to whom more than any one else he owed his elevation to the imperial throne. Rather than pronounce Luther an outlaw, i. e., one who can not demand of the secular government protection of his body and life, and thus may be slain by anyone with impunity, he reserved the matter for the diet at Worms, and here he put it before the representatives of the empire. The diet might demand Luther's personal appearance, or might condemn him without a hearing. Aleander, the representative of the pope, with every means at his disposal tried to hinder the personal appearance of Luther at the diet, for he feared the influence of Luther might exert over the princes and

other representatives of the empire and even over the emperor himself. He spared neither money nor the bestowal of all kinds of papal titles and other insignia of honor. But he did not succeed. God would have Luther make a confession of faith before the emperor and the nation. The estates, i. e., the representatives of the empire, felt that the excitement among the people was so great as to make it inadvisable to condemn Luther without a hearing. Thus in March, 1521, Luther was summoned to appear before the diet. At the same time he was assured of safe conduct.

This summons reached Wittenberg March 26. What would Luther do? Would fear cause him to hesitate? And if so, was he quite certain of his case and thus of the protection of his God? With noble courage and trust in God he immediately declared his intention to follow the summons, and at once set about to arrange all his affairs. Though shortly before, his fatherly friend Staupitz, fearing men, had become unfaithful to the cause of the gospel, he would not do likewise. Many advised against his going, and

called attention to the fact that it was not looked upon as sin, to break the pledge of



LUTHER IN THE YEAR 1521
Copper engraving by L. Cranach

safe conduct given to a heretic, yet he remained firm. A letter written by him De-

cember 21, 1520, reveals the thoughts that filled his soul and gave him courage. There he wrote to his friend Spalatin, "There is no doubt, God calls me if the Emperor calls. But if they proceed to violence, as is most likely—for they will scarcely call me for the purpose of being instructed—then the matter must be committed to God, for He still lives and reigns, who preserved the three youths in the oven of the Babylonian king. But if He will not preserve me, it is only a little matter about my head when compared with Christ, who was slain with much contumely and to the offence and destruction of many. For here one must neither consider danger nor well-being, but rather see to it, that the gospel which we have now begun, is not delivered to the ridicule of the ungodly.—You may expect anything of me but flight or revocation. I will not flee, much less recant, as sure as my Lord Jesus will give me strength, for I could do neither without risking eternal life and the salvation of many souls." Only he can feel thus who is absolutely certain of his case, and through faith has found a gracious God, and thus also

peace of mind and confident courage. Rom. 5:1, etc., 8:31, etc.

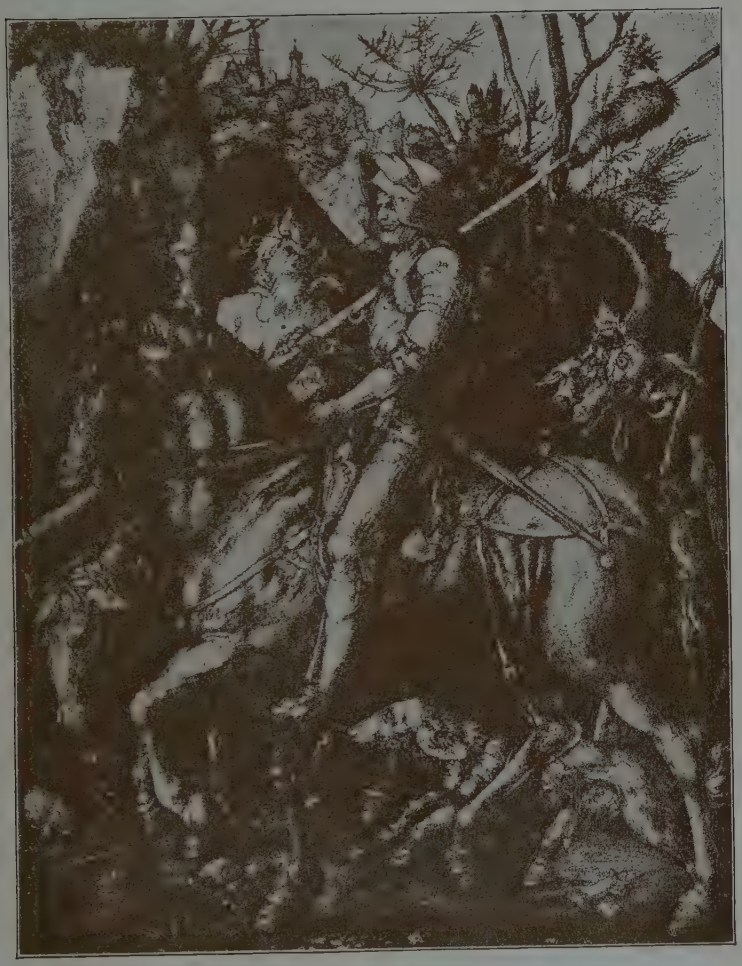
April 2 he started on his jonrney, for he was to reach Worms twenty-one days after receiving the summons. The city of Wittenberg furnished him with a carriage; a fellow monk of the Augustinian order and two friends accompanied him; the imperial herald rode ahead. The journey was like a triumphal procession. Leipzig, Erfurt, Gotha, Eisenach, Hersfeld, Friedberg, Frankfurt, Oppenheim were stations on his road to Worms. At Erfurt especially, where he had studied, he was received with many honors. Here he also remained for the Sunday and preached. One who heard him later wrote, "The sermon melted the hearts like snow before the breath of spring." During this journey also adherents of the pope tried everything to keep him from Worms. They succeeded in prevailing upon the Emperor to issue a command, that Luther's writings should be burned, and they saw to it that Luther learned of this command. They hoped fear would now keep him away from Worms. The report did frighten Luther,

but he would not turn back. He wrote to Spalatin, "Christ lives, and we will enter Worms in spite of the gates of hell and the powers of the air." And thus he remained firm also, when a day's journey from Worms, he received news from the selfsame Spalatin, that the promise of safe conduct would be no better kept in his case than it was with Hus. But Luther's answer was, "Indeed, Hus was burned, but the truth remained. For this reason I will go to Worms, even though there be as many devils there as roof tiles on the houses!" Formerly it was thought that Luther here wrote his great hymn, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God." This is hardly correct. But what this hymn so forcibly expresses indeed must have filled his soul at this time.

Luther reached Worms April 16.

2.

Luther reached the gates of Worms at about 10 o'clock in the morning. His armed escorts who had accompanied him for his protection now left him, while his other



THE KNIGHT OPPOSING DEATH AND THE DEVIL

Copper engraving by A. Dürer, 1513

Realized in Luther, who, in spite of Death and the Devil, and without fear, went to Worms



LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS

traveling companions, among whom his friend Jonas, remained with him. Aleander did not succeed in having them rejected. The keeper of the tower announced the coming of the monk of Wittenberg with trumpet blasts. Some 2,000 people poured forth from the houses to see him; a number of distinguished personages, many of them from the Saxon court, rode out to meet him. The herald with his servant rode ahead; then came Luther with his traveling companions; immediately behind these Jonas rode; and then some twenty nobles with their retinue, all of them mounted, followed, finally the ever increasing crowd of people. Luther left his carriage at the entrance of the building of the Knights of St. John, and with the words, "God will be with me!" he stepped on the ground of Worms. Till far into the night he was beset by visitors. On the following morning he discharged his calling and prepared a dying Saxon knight for his last step with absolution and holy communion.

The same day, April 17, he was to appear before the Emperor and the estates. On account of the terrific throng of the people it

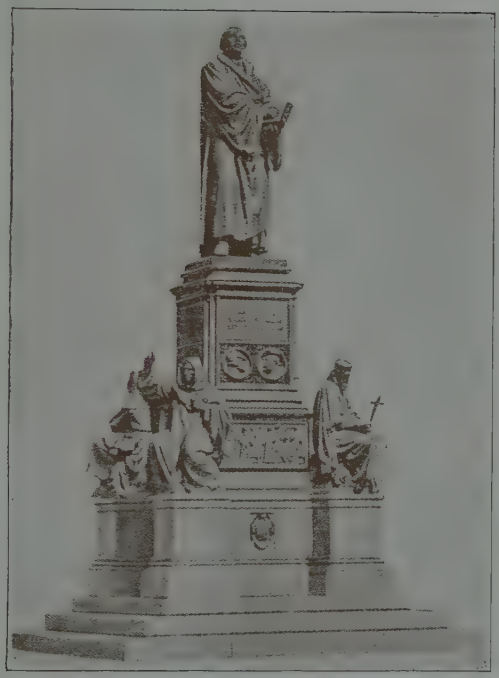
was deemed advisable to lead him through gardens and by circuitous routes to the palace, but even so the people thronged after him. The hearing was to take place in the palace of the bishop. It was a distinguished assembly that had gathered and before which Luther was brought at six o'clock after a two hours' wait. It was before the emperor, the most powerful monarch of the world at the time, six electors, numerous princes and representatives of the empire, and among these many enemies, and also the representative of the pope, that Luther suddenly found himself, he, the peasant's son in the plain robe of a mendicant monk! Little wonder if a slight trepidation passed through his soul, especially so since the imperial marshal immediately intimated that he was only to speak when questioned. Then a secular official, Johann von Eck (not to be confused with Luther's theological opponent of the same name), stepped up and asked him in the name of the Emperor and the representatives of the empire, 1) whether he acknowledged the books that appeared under his name as his own; 2)

whether he was willing to revoke their contents or not. Luther immediately acknowledged the writings as his own as soon as the titles were read, but begged for time to consider before he answered the second question, since this concerned a matter of the salvation of souls and of the Word of God, which was far superior even to heaven and earth, and he was reluctant to say something which might either be too much or too little. Luther was manifestly surprised over the whole procedure, for he had expected a disputation. Thus he seemed embarrassed and intimidated, and gave his answer with a low voice. The impression he created was unfavorable; the Emperor is said to have remarked, "That man will never make a heretic out of me."

And yet Luther in no way had thought of a revocation. The same night, "in the midst of the tumult" he wrote, "Not one jot will I recant, if Christ is gracious unto me." He meant to consider the form in which he would reply to the second question, so that his answer might be both well put and convincing. And Luther's friends succeeded,

though with some effort, to gain a day for him for consideration.

In the afternoon of the 18th of April the throng had grown even greater, though a larger hall had been selected. Perhaps none of the representatives of the empire was absent and the crowd of people was terrific; only the papal representatives were absent, no doubt because they feared to hear disagreeable things. Tapers had already been lighted when Luther entered the hall. It was at that time, perhaps, that the brave soldier George Frundsberg patted him on the shoulder and said, "If your judgment is just and you are sure of your case, go ahead in God's name and be of courage, God will not forsake you." The deliberations were again led by Johann von Eck. He again asked Luther the questions of the day before only in a slightly altered form, "Do you intend to defend all your books or are you willing to revoke some things?" Luther answered, and this time without any embarrassment, courageously and with a loud voice, but also without any rhetorical display, simply and plainly. He said his writings consisted of



THE LUTHER-MONUMENT AT WORMS

The two figures on the pedestal represent Savonarola and Hus. The corresponding figures in the background are those of Waldo and Wiclif. Luther is thus surrounded by the so-called Forerunners of the Reformation, but rises high above them.

three kinds, 1) those that treat of faith and morals; these he could not revoke, even his opponents declared them as good and salutary; 2) those that were directed against popery and the popists, who through precept and example violated Christendom in body and soul, and these he could not revoke. "Surely no one can deny," he said, "that through the tenets and man made doctrines of the pope the conscience of the faithful are bound, tormented, and tortured, and temporal possessions, especially in the German nation, are swallowed up. . . . If I were to revoke these writings I would do nothing but confirm tyranny, open not only the windows but also the doors for so heinous a crime, and be the cause of its spreading even more freely and widely than ever before. A revocation on my part would only serve to confirm so atrocious a management. Good God, what a scandalous covering I would then be for malice and tyranny!" 3) those that were directed against private individuals; in these he had sometimes been more vehement than the occasion called for, for he, too, was no saint; but even here

he could not retract the matter in question.

Luther had spoken in Latin, and when requested to do so, he repeated his whole answer in clear and widely understood German. In his speech he had demanded that his errors be shown him from the "prophetic and gospel writings" before he could revoke. But since a disputation was feared, Eck answered in the name of the Emperor, that a disputation could no longer be considered. For the principal statements in his writings had already been condemned by the councils as heretical. He demanded that Luther give an answer "without teeth and horns," and simply declare whether he would revoke these statements and writings or not. Then Luther answered, "Unless I am convinced by proofs from Scripture or other obvious reasons (for I neither believe only the pope or the councils, since it is obvious that they have ofttimes erred or contradicted themselves) I stand convicted by my writings, and my conscience is bound in God's Word. I can and will revoke nothing, for it is neither sincere nor prudent to do aught

against one's conscience." This answer seemed so terrible to the Emperor that he abruptly adjourned the meeting. In the general tumult which ensued Luther took leave of the Emperor and princes and spoke words, the exact wording of which can not be definitely ascertained. Perhaps they were worded like this, "I can not do otherwise, here I stand, God help me! Amen."

Luther had maintained his position. His friends were much satisfied. His Elector was satisfied. We might add, his God was satisfied—and that alone is important and decisive. Luther was convinced that his God would carry the matter to a finish.

14. From Worms to the Wartburg.

"I AM THROUGH!" Luther cried when on that memorable 18th day of April he returned from the diet to his lodging place. Yet despite his manly and decided confession he was not through. Of course, the Emperor was done with Luther. On the following morning already he informed the princes of the realm, that he had resolved to maintain everything which in former days had been decided by the Church, and especially the declarations of the council of Constance, which Luther had attacked. Luther's private opinions militated against the teachings of universal Christendom and could no longer be tolerated. He would not hear Luther again. He would keep his promise of safe conduct and have him safely returned to Wittenberg, but after that he would treat him in a way befitting an open and avowed heretic. But many of the estates, and such also who demanded that Luther submit to the Church, did not wish him abandoned.



THE WARTBURG

They also succeeded in having a commission appointed to deal with Luther again to bring him if possible to a change of mind.

April 24, and again April 25, this commission did all in its power to obtain Luther's revocation. They recognized the good contained in his writings; they conceded the need of a reformation of the Church; they emphasized the awful results which would be brought about by his attitude and which would be heaped on his own head; they called attention to the danger of insisting upon and following only his own mind and do so in opposition to the whole of Christendom. Satan helped them to find one thing after another, ofttimes in good faith on their part, to bring about an inner wavering in Luther, so that these negotiations were perhaps far more difficult for Luther than his declaration at the diet. But Luther remained firm. He was willing to do anything except that which is contrary to God's Word. And this very fact brought about the final rupture: the Emperor's and the pope's party was not ready unconditionally to submit to the decision of the divine Word, and Luther's conscience

was bound to God's Word. "I can not retract," he said, "many things go with me as God wills!"

In the evening of April 25 he received command from the Emperor to leave Worms. In 21 days he should be in Wittenberg, and while en route he should neither preach nor write. After his arrival in Wittenberg he would be dealt with as an obstinate heretic who will not listen to better judgment. Luther expressed his gratitude to the Emperor and the estates for affording him a hearing. He assured them that he was at all times ready to obey the Emperor, and also willing to suffer for the Emperor and the realm. He only demanded that he was permitted to preach God's Word and bear witness to the same without restrictions. Thus here also his last thought concerned the Word of God.

April 26 Luther started on his homeward journey. He could do so with a good conscience, for he had done his duty. As to what happened after he had reached Wittenberg and would be outlawed he left to God. And God had already provided for him. For even

before he started on his journey his Elector had informed him privately that he would be taken captive and brought to a safe retreat. He went the same way he came, and also preached at various places. May 1 he reached Eisenach. Here he left his traveling companions and together with Amsdorf visited his relatives at Moehra. Beyond Altenstein in the Thuringian Forest not far from Moehra, they were suddenly, according to prearrangement, attacked by riders of the Elector, taken captive, and Luther was brought to the Wartburg, an old and beautifully located castle near Eisenach. Here he found a safe retreat.

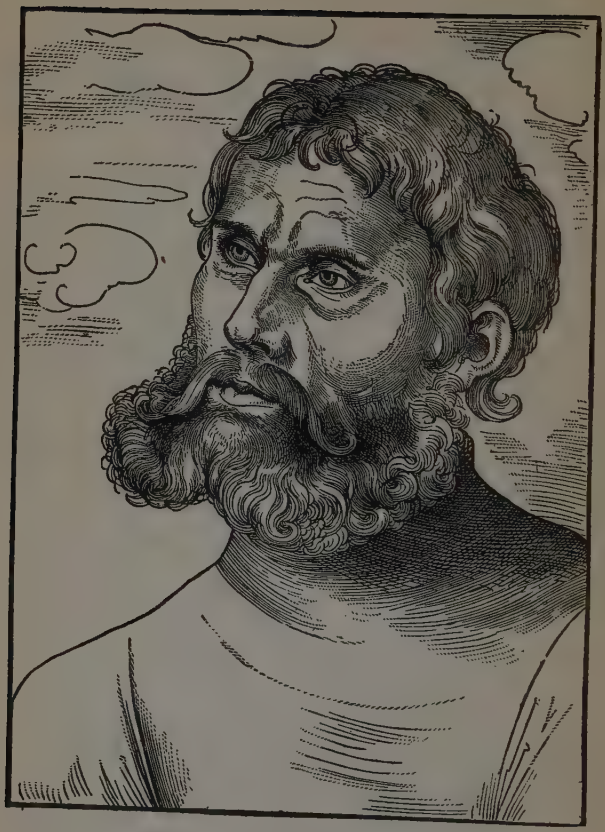
Now the Emperor and Aleander might continue to storm. May 25, after the Elector of Saxony had already left Worms, and the like-minded Count Palatine, too, was no longer there, the Emperor issued the "Edict of Worms" and sent it abroad under false date and also falsely in the name of "all" the imperial estates. In this edict he put Luther, who is declared to be "the evil one in the person of a man under the assumed monk's habit," under the imperial ban, and

decreed that all his writings should be publicly burned. But Luther had found a safe retreat, and God Himself kept His hand over him.

15. Luther at the Wartburg.

NEAR the city of Eisenach, where Luther attended the Latin school, on one of the lofty heights of the Thuringian Forest, there is an old castle, called the Wartburg. It is noted for its magnificent location and affords a view into wide distances. Built A.D. 1070, many historical reminiscences cluster about the ancient castle. Here A.D. 1207, the great tourney of singers, called the Saengerkrieg, at which the most celebrated singers of the day met, is said to have taken place. Soon afterwards (1221) the marriage of Saint Elizabeth with the Landgrave of Thuringia (Ludwig IV) was here celebrated. But the Wartburg became universally known, and especially sacred for Lutherans, through the fact that it was here where Dr. Martin Luther found his asylum and place of refuge, his "Patmos," May 4, 1521, to March 1, 1522.

In order to protect him against the machinations of his enemies, the Emperor and the pope, the Elector of Saxony had



LUTHER AS JUNKER GEORG IN THE WARTBURG
After a wood engraving by L. Cranach of 1522

secretly taken Luther to the Wartburg, and had so skillfully arranged matters that Luther's abode was known only to a few of his nearest and most trusted friends. Many of his contemporaries, who were vitally interested in his welfare and looked to him for great things, mourned him as one dead. The celebrated painter, Albrecht Duerer, put this note into his diary, "Is he still living? Or have they murdered him? He has suffered this for the sake of Christian truth, and because he has punished un-Christian popery. This thought is hardest for me, that perhaps God intends to leave us still longer under the false, blind doctrine. O God, have mercy upon us! O pious Christians everywhere, help me diligently to mourn for this enlightened man, and to pray that God will send us another enlightened man."

Even after Luther's death, his Catholic opponent, Cochlaeus, could not ascertain where Luther's Patmos had been at that time. But according to the providence of God Wartburg castle was not only to afford Luther a safe retreat against his enemies. His sojourn was also to be a time of rest and

recreation for him after the storm. Since 1517 he had been in the midst of the conflict, in a struggle which most strenuously taxed body and soul. Added to this all the years since he entered the cloister, with their castigations and self-denials, with all their toil and labor, and also the problems to be solved by him in the near future, and surely it seems like a friendly dispensation of God that he was now unharnessed for about ten months and permitted to rest. The beautiful surroundings and the bracing air of the Thuringian Forest could not but refresh body and soul; the splendid hospitality of the castellan, Hans von Berlepsch, the physical exercise out in the open, which several times took "Junker Joerg" far beyond Eisenach, must needs do him good, as soon as he had accustomed himself to this new way of living. Even when he sat at work in his little room in the castle with its oaken table, its large stove of tile, its bed, and wardrobe, the balmy air of the Thuringian Forest entered through the window.

But his residence on the Wartburg was also to be a time of reflection and meditation.

For here in the presence only of his God, he could again critically survey everything he had hitherto taught against the pope and his following, take deeper root in the Holy Bible as the only source and norm of divine truth and the only fount of life, and settle matters with the enemy of all truth, Satan. Accordingly we do not only hear of Luther's living and working in the Bible during his sojourn on the Wartburg, but also, and more than ever, of the inner struggles which he experienced with the evil one. Of course, that at one time he threw the inkwell at the devil is a legend which arose many years after his death. And as to those things which he himself relates of appearances of the devil we must be careful to distinguish just how much of this must be attributed to a fancy unduly excited by physical infirmity and other factors. But this is certain, that during his residence on the Wartburg he did have the most profound struggles with Satan. The old evil foe called forth thoughts like these: whether his case was well founded, whether he had done his duty at Worms, whether his sojourn on the

Wartburg was not really cowardice; and even more than that, whether he, the sinner, could be certain of his salvation? Here, too, we might call attention to Luther's word, "I learned by experience what kind of a fellow the devil is. That is the highest, greatest, and most insidious temptation of Satan, that he says, 'God is hostile to the sinner; you are a sinner; God is your enemy.' He has often assaulted me most grievously, so that I did not know whether I was dead or alive. He also brought me to the brink of despair, so that I no longer knew whether there is a God. But with the Word of God I warded him off." And the other, "That is the best art to drive him (Satan) away, when one calls upon Christ and despises the devil. That he can not stand. You must say to him, 'If you are the lord over Christ, then be it so.' So I also said at Eisenach."

And the sojourn on the Wartburg was to prove a period of uninterrupted work. At Wittenberg Luther had so many things to do: he was the preacher at the parish church, professor at the university, superior at the cloister, the counsellor by word of mouth and

in writing of a large congregation and even beyond the confines of the city. It was difficult for him to continue in his literary efforts. Only a personality as indefatigable as his could do as much as he did. But here in the solitudes of the Wartburg things went altogether different. After he had found rest, had happily overcome a physical ailment, lived and worked more than ever in the Word of God, he finished a work during the second half of his stay which more than any other of his earlier works proved of fundamental importance for the development of the Reformation. Already during the first half Luther had not been inactive. Since on the day of Ascension and Pentecost, which in this year happened on the 9th and 19th of May, parts of Psalm 68 were sung, he wrote an explanation of this psalm during this season. And besides he continued certain labors which he had begun at Wittenberg even before his journey to Worms, for instance, an explanation of the Magnificat, or hymn of praise by Mary. The exact formulation of true doctrine and practice was also a sacred duty for him here on his



GOD BLESSES THE WARTBURG

By R. Schaefer (From Gerhardt's Geistliche Lieder; G. Schloessmann's Verlag).

Patmos. Thus he registered a strong protest against the tyranny of the Romish confessional in his writing, "Of Confessions, Whether the Pope has the Power to Command," and clearly showed that Holy Writ knows nothing of it that one can only confess to the priest, and that all sins must be recounted to him, and he be permitted to question after all sins. But he also showed that a voluntary confession of sin to the priest or any other Christian, in whom we trust, is salutary and commendable. And in another writing he refuted a Roman controversial writing against his doctrine of sin and righteousness by faith, and anew and carefully based his doctrine on Holy Writ. Secret emissaries brought Luther's writings to Wittenberg and supervised their print. The faithful, however, who read Luther's writings, thanked God that Luther was still alive and able to work and fight. When Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz again began the indulgence traffic, Luther, ignoring his own safety, wrote him a strong and powerful letter. With rare candor he demanded an immediate cessation of this disgraceful

traffic, and also that monks and priests who wished to marry in order to avoid unchastity be in no wise hindered. The answer which the archbishop and Elector of Mainz wrote him shows the power which Luther was in Germany at the time, even though he had been outlawed and his retreat was unknown. He wrote: "Dear Doctor: I have read your letter and graciously and in all good intention received the same, but in my estimation all reason for the same has long since been obviated, and I intend, God willing, to conduct myself in a way becoming a pious spiritual and Christian prince, as far as God will grant me grace and strength, for which I will faithfully pray and be prayed for, for I can do nothing in my own strength,—well knowing that there is nothing good in me without God's grace, and I am as much an evil-smelling filth as any other, if not more. I did not wish to conceal this pursuant to your writing, for to show you grace and every good I am more than willing, and I can well stand brotherly and Christian censure."

Besides this and other work Luther started the compilation of a postil, a German



THE LUTHER CORNER IN THE WARTBURG



LUTHER AT WORK IN HIS ROOM AT THE WARTBURG

book of sermons for pastors and laymen, during this first half of his residence. Though he worked only on the gospels and epistles for the Christmas and Epiphany season, this was a significant beginning. (See Chapter 21.)

But the greatest and most blessed work of his whole life he began during the second half of his residence on the Wartburg: December, 1521, he began, in compliance with the wishes of his Wittenberg friends, the translation of the New Testament from the Greek into the German, and continued the same until finished. In this he opened for Christendom the immediate access to the fount of life. Now Christ could be found, even though he himself could no longer preach Him to them. It is easily to be understood how Luther could say, that now all additional books and writings are superfluous. For this reason we today can not even think of Luther's residence on the Wartburg without at the same time thanking God for the fact that here he began the translation of the Bible. (Compare Chapter 20.)

16. Luther Returns from the Wartburg to Wittenberg.

HOWEVER significant and important both for himself and for the work of the Reformation Luther's residence on the Wartburg may have been, it was not God's will, that Luther should forever remain in seclusion. In Wittenberg affairs developed in so radical and unhealthy a way during his absence, that Luther felt constrained to return to Wittenberg, and take matters in hand.

As long as Luther had been at Wittenberg he had contented himself with combatting the great evils, as they existed in matters of worship and religious life in general, and to do this in his sermons and writings, that is to say through the word, but he had not touched nor in any way changed the institutions or regulations. Thus as late as 1521 the Lord's Supper was still celebrated under one form, that is, just as heretofore laymen received the host only, but not the cup. The entire Mass was celebrated in the Latin lan-

guage, and in the traditional way as handed down by the Middle Ages. Neither had the private Mass been abrogated, which the priest reads for himself, and by means of which he usually would release one or another from purgatory. And monks still remained in their cloisters, and they as well as priests, continued in celibacy, according to their vows. Luther endeavored by means of the word to show and convince the Wittenberg citizens of the falsity of these institutions, before he touched and abrogated them.

While Luther remained at the Wartburg, not only the men of the university, but also the monks at the Augustinian convent, asked, how much longer must we behold and tolerate these institutions which do not harmonize with the Holy Scriptures? At the university it was Carlstadt especially who advocated a change, demanding the abolition of celibacy, i. e., the unmarried state of the priesthood, and the vows of the monk. Later on he also demanded the removal of images from the churches. At the Augustinian cloister Gabriel Zwilling especially demanded that laymen be given the cup

in Holy Communion, and that private Masses be abolished. But as long as these demands were made only from the pulpit or in the lecture rooms of the university nothing was changed.

But in September of 1521 the matter was taken up practically, and the attempt made to reform the religious and churchly life accordingly. The Augustinians abolished private Masses in the cloister. This was a step all the more significant, because most of the ecclesiastical grants, that formed the chief sources of income for convents, churches, and priests, were made under the condition that requiems, or Masses for departed souls, be said. The question now arose whether the claim to these grants and legacies could still be maintained if Masses were no longer said for souls, and, whence should monks and priests take their livelihood, if they could no longer claim this income? After these private Masses had been abrogated in the cloisters, over-zealous students endeavored to bring about their abolishment at the parish church by disturbing the priests when they celebrated Mass. The unrest grew so strong



LUTHER'S ROOM IN THE WITTENBERG CLOISTER

that the Elector interfered and for the present prohibited all innovations.

But now the vain and somewhat violent Carlstadt championed the cause, claiming, that if the authorities do not fulfill their duty, and abolish all institutions that are contrary to Holy Writ, then he as a member of the congregation and as professor at the university is justified in carrying out the necessary changes. And since he was also the preacher at the collegiate church, he could easiest carry out his plans at this church. And so Christmas, 1521, he introduced a new kind of celebration of Holy Communion. He dropped confession, and cancelled the entire traditional order of the Mass or the communion liturgy. Instead he merely read the words of institution, and then distributed bread and wine, so that laymen also partook of the cup. The monks at the Augustinian cloister were pleased over this procedure of Carlstadt, and felt encouraged to institute additional reforms. Since a number of them had already discarded the cowl, they now solemnly resolved that every one of the brethren was free to leave. Carl-

stadt grew ever more vociferous in his demand that all images be removed from the churches. He said, images are idols, which militate against the law of God, for this prohibits strange gods. The prohibition to make graven images, precedes the prohibition of adultery and theft in the ten commandments, hence is more important than these! The result of this action on the part of Carlstadt and the Augustinian monks was that all existing customs and regulations grew shaky, and a great disorder followed.

When this disorder increased Carlstadt thought it advisable to seek the aid of the city council. And the city council with his co-operation proclaimed a "solid order for the city of Wittenberg," January, 1522. They demanded, first, that henceforth the Lord's Supper should be celebrated in the simple form which Carlstadt had introduced, and that all images should be removed from the churches; second, that all receipts from ecclesiastical benefits and grants should be put into a common treasury, and from this the city council should pay the salaries of priests or pastors, and

support the poor. If this new ruling had been introduced quietly and patiently, without precipitation, and with the necessary regard for consciences, it would have been no evil institution, especially as far as the second point is concerned. For it was obvious that an alteration and simplification of the communion service, and an abolition of the private Mass was necessary.

But Carlstadt was a man of too unstable and violent a disposition to inaugurate such measures with the necessary wisdom. Not a few of the citizens and students had become so turbulent, that they incited a regular riot in order to cleanse the churches of the images and "idols." At this time the so-called Zwickau prophets came to Wittenberg, the cloth weaver Niklas Storch, and the former Wittenberg student, Markus Stuebner, who confused many minds. They regarded the office of public preaching and administration of the sacraments as superfluous. They taught that the Holy Spirit uses neither the Word nor the Sacrament to influence the human heart. He enters the heart without such means. Especially did

they condemn infant baptism. The result was that people began to neglect church, confession, and communion, and many began to doubt the necessity of baptism. Human and divine institutions threatened to collapse, and in place of these something like mob rule came into being, especially so, since Carlstadt although a teacher at the university spoke contemptuously of learning, thus not only harming the university but also causing the Latin school of the city to decline. For who would study foreign languages and theology if the Holy Ghost works directly in the human heart and the simplest peasant and laborer was said to understand the Scriptures far better than the pastor or professor, who had made it the subject of lifelong study?

No wonder that the Elector again interfered and prohibited all innovations, since nearly everybody did as he saw fit, and a revolution in Church affairs came near taking place in Wittenberg, in which the gospel discovered anew by Luther, would finally have been lost, and the old papal regime would have been taken over by a mob regime.

The electoral decree could never overcome but only impede this dangerous current, as all spiritual movements can never be conquered by legal but only by spiritual means. Now Luther could no longer remain at the Wartburg, he had come to Wittenberg, to save the good work from irreparable harm, if it cost his life. The Elector in a letter advised against it, but the Wittenberg authorities petitioned for his return. And Luther was only too glad to come. March 1, 1522, he left the Wartburg and hurried to Wittenberg. During his journey he wrote his celebrated letter, renowned for its courage and faith, to the Elector, who feared for his life, because Luther had been outlawed. Among other things he said in this letter: "Your Electoral Grace may know that I came to Wittenberg under a much higher protection than that of the Elector. Nor do I intend to ask your Grace's protection. Yes, I think, that I will safeguard your Grace far more than you can safeguard me. And if I knew that your Electoral Grace could and would protect me, I would not come at all. This matter neither

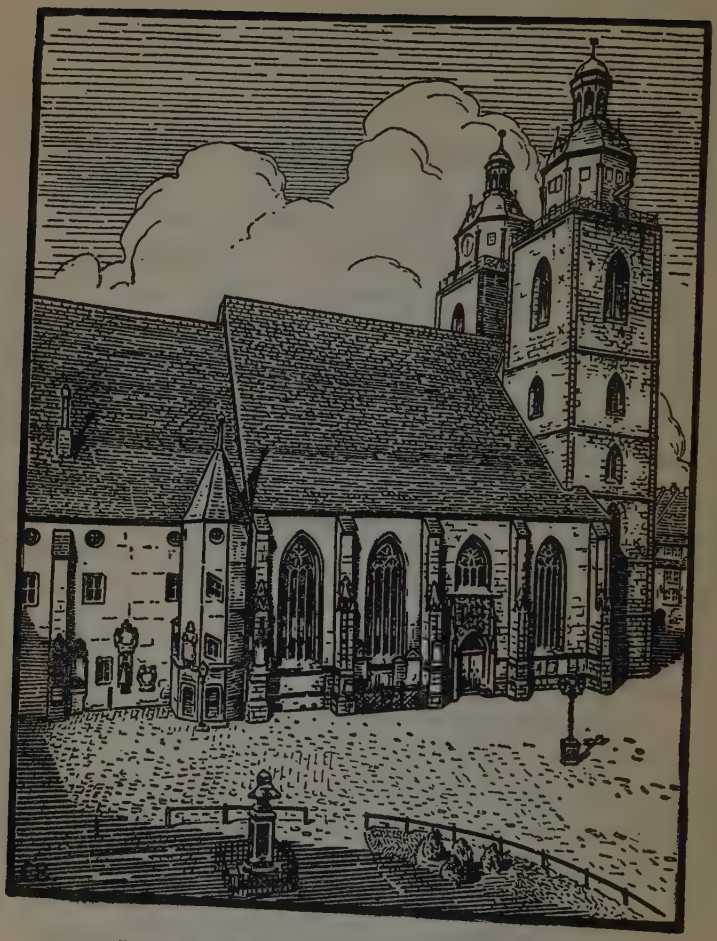
can nor should be helped by the sword. God only must help, and without all human care or assistance. For this reason he who trusts most will give most protection."

March 6 Luther reached Wittenberg.

17. Luther Restores Order in Wittenberg.

THE day following his return Luther wrote to his Elector explaining that he could not do otherwise. He was called of God to be pastor and shepherd for the people of Wittenberg. How could he remain away since Satan had broken into his flock and threatened to destroy the pure Gospel? Especially since a dangerous rebellion against the existing order was about to result therefrom. The more his friends informed him of the conditions and events in Wittenberg, the clearer he saw that everything was put in jeopardy.

Thus the 9th of March came, Sunday Invocavit, Luther ascended his pulpit in the parish church in Wittenberg for the first time since his return and preached for eight consecutive days, in order to bring the confused minds back again to the proper understanding, and stop the whole dangerous procedure. And he preached powerfully. With marvelous courage he showed the people of Wittenberg the error of the way they had



THE CITY CHURCH OF WITTENBERG

Luther delivered here most of his sermons from 1526 on; also his powerful eight sermons after his return from the Wartburg, March, 1522. The part of the church at the left was built 1520, the one at the right 1412.



THE INTERIOR OF THE CITY CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

Modern View



PULPIT IN THE CASTLE CHURCH AT WITTENBERG

chosen, and sought fervently to bring their hearts to the true conception of Christian freedom and win them for the unadulterated Gospel of Jesus Christ.

During his exile on the Wartburg he had issued writings on the vows of monks, and the Mass. Of the former he showed that they had no binding power for any one, because they were not the fruit of faith, but rather the result of an endeavor by them to gain merit in the sight of God. And in regard to the latter he declared that private Mass should be abrogated. Thus he reiterated in his sermons, that private Masses are wrong, that laymen, too, according to the words of the institution have a divine right to the cup, and that men may secede from the life in the convent. But he maintained that affairs should not be changed with force or violence, as had been attempted in Wittenberg. There is only one way of proceeding, namely, by means of the Word. When by means of preaching and teaching, hearts and consciences have been convinced of the error of these things, they will cease of their own accord. But in the power of the

divine Word his Wittenbergers put little confidence. Therefore Luther uttered the beautiful word, which the Lutheran Church dare never forget, "Summa summarum, I will preach it, I will say it, I will write it, but force and coerce anyone with violence, I will not do. For faith must willingly and without force be accepted. Take me as an example, I have been opposed to the indulgence of all popists, but wthout violence. I have only dealt with, preached and written God's Word, but nothing besides that. And whether I slept or drank Wittenberger beer with my Philipp or Amsdorf, the Word had done more to weaken popery, than any prince or emperor has ever yet done. I did nothing, the Word did and perfected it all. Had I wished to proceed with violence I might have thrust Germany into a great shedding of blood, I could have brought about a state of affairs in Worms that even the emperor would not have been safe. But what would that have been? A fool's play. I did nothing, I only let the Word act."

But if even those things that are contrary to God's Word should not be abolished with



LUTHER IN 1523

After a copper engraving of Daniel Hopfer

violence, how much more must it be wrong to force upon the people as a new law things that God's Word leaves free? Where is truth that relies on the Christian freedom of the individual, and love which takes into consideration the brother's weakness? Why should not images remain in the churches as long as they are not adored? Why should not monks continue in their cloisters, if they choose to do so as a matter of freedom, and not with the intention thereby to merit righteousness before God? Why should not the churchly order of confession be maintained, if Christians are not forced to mention all their sins by name, and forgiveness is not made dependent upon the completeness of the confession? Why should it not be just as well to have the pastor give to communicants the host and the cup, than to take it with one's own hand, as Carlstadt demanded? Of course, those who have the proper understanding of communion should also receive the cup; but who would dare to stress and force them who do not yet possess this understanding and thus approach the communion rail with a violated conscience?

Thus Luther asked the people of Wittenberg. The entire inner and spiritual nature of Christianity, which attempts nothing by external force but only through the means of the Word, the true freedom of the Christian which will suffer no one—neither popery nor fanatics and visionaries—to force upon it as a law, that which is not demanded in God's Word, the love, which with all changes made in the Church ever considers the weakness of the brother and never violates one's conscience,—all that was set forth by Luther in those eight sermons so lucidly and with such precision as never before since the days of St. Paul.

And these sermons took effect. The people of Wittenberg permitted themselves to be led back to a sound evangelical Christian life. Carlstadt and his associates were forced to keep still or get out. The Zwickau prophets also left the field. Luther now emphasized stronger than ever before that the Holy Ghost works not immediately but mediately by means of the Word and the sacraments, that these must be diligently used if man is to be filled with the Holy

Spirit and be brought by Him to the true faith and eternal life. Many of the popists were also glad that Luther returned to Wittenberg, and victoriously curbed the whole movement, which might have become a conflagration to take hold of the whole of Germany and destroy all the institutions and regulations of State and Church.

18. Luther Rescues the Government.

SCARCELY had Luther rescued the pure gospel from the machinations of Carlstadt and other visionaries and restored order in Wittenberg when it became necessary for him to protect and maintain it against a new danger, which this time came from the rebellious peasants who had risen against their government, and justified their uprising by appealing to their "evangelical liberty."

The spirit of sedition had fomented among the peasants for decades prior to the Reformation, and had nothing to do with the religious question. It had its roots in the economic and social conditions of the times. During the centuries preceding, the cities had developed and gradually maintained their special rights over against the knights and the nobility. Indeed they were subject to their respective kings, dukes, and princes, but they had secured the right to govern their own internal affairs, and the princes were forced to respect these rights, since the



GERMAN CITY LIFE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By Hans Sebald Beham

In the foreground at the left a merchant, figuring with an amanuensis on a reckoning board. Near them a wood sculptor engaged in modeling. At the right an organist with his assistant, who tends to the bellows. At the table in the center a physician and an astrologer; to their left the studio of a painter and his color-mixer. In the perspective the city, with the counters of the merchants. The one in front can be recognized as a goldsmith's shop. Above the whole is enthroned Mercury, the god of commerce and earthly gain, driving in a chariot of the gods.

cities were represented in the council of the empire, and could create many disagreeable problems for the princes. Some of the cities, such as Nuernberg, Augsburg, Hamburg, and many others, were directly subject only to the emperor and the empire. For this reason they were known as "free imperial cities," and some of them had grown as wealthy and powerful as many a duke with all his territory. Only the peasants enjoyed no rights. They were neither represented in the councils of individual dukes and princes, nor in the council of the nation, and thus had no one to advocate their cause. Some of them, indeed, had a claim to the land on which they lived, many more passed their house and property to their descendants, but the legal ownership was vested not in themselves but in some member of the nobility, some knight, prince, or duke, or perhaps in some city. Not a few of them were nothing more than "serfs," or "bondmen," i. e., men, who were compelled to spend all or a part of their time in the service of the nobles, which in substance amounted only to a milder form of slavery. Their condition, however, was



CITY LIFE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—A DANCING FEAST OF THE NOBLE FAMILIES OF THE CITY

Copper engraving by Israel von Meckenen (died 1503).

The Beheading of John the Baptist is shown in the background. The artist has given this picture, taken from life, a Biblical touch.

not absolutely intolerable. They possessed the needs of this body and life, not a few of them had some savings; but the fact that they possessed none of the privileges nor even the protection of the law which was enjoyed by the nobility and the cities, was felt by them as a grievous injustice. This was the cause of their envy and hatred. When, furthermore, the peasants had to endure hardships, or to suffer under the harshness and hardness of heart on the part of the nobility, the cities, the secular and ecclesiastical powers, then the discontent which otherwise fomented in secret became dangerously apparent. When finally men arose who in one way or another knew how to fan the sparks, it is evident how the flames shot forth fiercely. Thus there were several bloody revolts at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Since the appearance of Luther the peasants associated various religious notions with their political unrest, such that were justified and such that were not. Luther in his writings of 1520 had especially militated

against the tyranny of the ecclesiastical authorities, who with their monasticism, the many taxes and tithes and all kinds of other



FIELD LABOR AND SPINNING IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

After a handwriting in the Germanic Museum at Nuernberg

practices, impoverished the land, and had called upon the nobility and the princes to rise up and bring about a betterment of con-

ditions. If Luther here appealed to the nobility and the princes, he appealed to the divinely ordained government, and reminded it of its duty as ordained by God, and demanded justice. But the



STONE-CUTTERS AT WORK

peasants, who happened to suffer most in those sections of Germany where bishops and archbishops were also the secular princes, interpreted Luther's appeal as though they themselves, the subjects, were to take matters in hand, rise up against the secular as well as the spiritual authorities, and, if necessary, bring about a betterment of their condition with violence.

Luther had often preached about Christian or evangelical freedom gained for us by Christ, and did so often again in his writings of 1520. With St. Paul he meant the freedom from sin, death, and the devil, according to which we stand before God as children. There is no difference in the sight of God between man and woman, lord and servant, but all believers are co-equal members of the same family. The peasants simply applied this to society in general and said, as far as men in general and among each other are concerned, there are no differences among them. One is as good as the other, stands as high as the other, and has as much right as the other, peasants no less than the cities, the nobles, the princes, the serf no less than the free. Luther had emphatically named the Word of God as the only source of true salvation. This was gladly accepted, for they were anxious to get rid of the pope, bishops, and their laws. But the Word of God was often curiously applied. For instance, since peasants were prohibited from fishing and hunting, this being the privilege of the nobles, the former appealed to Gen. 1:26, and



AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE RAISING AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Miniature by Hans Memling, 1440-1494



AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE RAISING AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Miniature by Hans Memling, 1440-1494

argued, here the ancestors of the race are made lords over the birds of the heavens, the fish in the waters, and the beasts of the field, hence fishing and hunting is the privilege of every man. That of course meant to twist and warp the statements of Luther. But thus twisted and warped, men were glad to hear them, and short-sighted and ofttimes unscrupulous men used them to excite the people, so that they determined to establish "evangelical Christianity," as they understood it. Many were indeed yearning for salvation. They demanded to hear the unadulterated Gospel. But their secular and ecclesiastical government placed priests over them as it saw fit, and where possible banished every true evangelical preacher. No wonder that the peasants also demanded the right to choose their own pastors.

In southern Germany the peasants succeeded first in banding together in larger numbers to fight for their rights. Here, and in the neighboring sections, their demands were more modest, and they attempted to secure them in a peaceful manner, without resorting to violence. When Luther

in 1525 first saw the "Twelve Articles of All Peasantry" and learned that the peasants appealed to him, he wrote his "Exhortation to Peace in Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasantry in Schwaben." Himself the son of a peasant, and a man deeply interested in the welfare of the people, he profoundly appreciated their condition. In former years he reprimanded the princes for their ill-treatment of the peasants and implored them to use reason, and to govern them with care. "Men will not, and can not tolerate your tyranny and arrogance much longer!" he cried.—"God will not have it. Times are past when you drove and hunted men like beasts." Now he appealed again, first to those princes and nobles who held an office in the Church, and who were the worst of all. He wrote, for instance, "We owe this revolt of the peasants to none other on earth than to you, who are hardened to the present day and do not cease to rage against the holy Gospel, and in your secular government do nothing else than tax and extort, until the poor and common man can and will no longer endure it. The sword is

hanging over your heads, and yet you think that your seat in the saddle is secured. Such obdurate foolhardiness will cost you your neck. You must change and obey the Word of God. And if you will not do it willingly and friendly, you will be forced to do it through violence. If these peasants will not do it, others will. God will and must punish you."

But Luther also had a serious word for the peasants, "his dear friends." He admitted that nobles and princes deserved to be brought low through the hand of God, but insisted that this does not justify revolt, especially since they had appointed themselves judges in their own matter. They should in all earnestness strive to get along with their superiors in harmony and peace, for an unjust government does not justify revolt. Romans 13 is also written for them. Above all things, they must not confound the spiritual and the secular, and not apply his sermon on evangelical liberty to political liberty. The slave and serf, too, may be a true Christian and one who possesses evangelical liberty. If they were true Christians they



THREE PEASANTS FROM THE EARLY PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Drawn and engraved from life by A. Dürer

would drop fist and sword and cling to the Our Father, for that is the true Christian way to rid oneself of misfortune and evil, namely, to suffer and call upon God.

But while Luther wrote to the peasants in this kind yet earnest way, the dangerous element had gained the upper hand. They counselled violence, and delighted especially to talk about doing away with all government, capture princes and nobles, behead and quarter them. The result was that murdering and pillaging bands of peasants swept over the land, stormed the castles and razed them, demolished the cloisters, and killed the nobles. They were especially violent in the sections of Muehlhausen in Thuringia, where Thomas Muenzer continually incited them to new deeds of violence. He called to them for instance, "Get them, get them, get them! No mercy, even though Esau does give you good words! Have no concern for the misery of the wicked, they pray, weep, supplicate you like children, but show no mercy!" They determined to extirpate all the wicked (i. e., all who did not agree with them), afford equal

rights to all survivors, and thus establish the Kingdom of God on earth.

What attitude must Luther now take over against these peasants? He needed only to side with them, and to the last man they would have been his followers. He would thus have kindled a fire in Germany that no man could ever have quenched. But that would have been revolution and not reformation. Luther saw the temptation and rejected it. The peasants were no more able to bring him away from the way clearly shown in God's Word, than the Wittenberg visionaries had been. He knew that the powers that be are ordained of God. And this course of the peasantry was a revolt not only against human but also against divine order. It was clear to him soon every order would cease, chaos reign, and only the Devil gain, if these seditious peasants were not stopped. Fearlessly he risked his own life, journeyed through the seditious sections, and tried to quiet the excited minds by preaching and teaching. But in vain. At one occasion people almost used violence against him. Then he took his

pen and wrote his essay, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Bands of Peasants." In this essay he reminded the peasants that government is divinely ordained, explained true evangelical liberty, and showed them that their whole doings were only a treacherous revolt. Then with all seriousness he called upon those who had been persuaded to follow, to flee from this seditious peasantry as from the Devil himself. And finally he appealed to the authorities and encouraged them to strike down the revolt with force. To him the peasants now were only the mad dogs that must be done away with in all haste, so that they can do no more evil. The authorities, he wrote, might justly say to themselves, "Behold, O God, Thou hast made me a prince and lord, and hast given me the sword for evildoers. This is Thy word and it can not deceive. If Thou wilt have me slain by them and take the government from me, Thy will be done. I thus die according to Thy divine word and command. Therefore I strike and punish, as long as I can move a muscle. Thou wilt judge with justice." It was a harsh, and yet a necessary

and just writing. It meant many more enemies among the people, yet he preserved a good conscience, for here, too, he stood on the firm rock of God's Word.

The princes followed Luther's advice. They proceeded against the peasants and squelched the revolt. That much blood was shed, and the peasants' lot became worse than before, was due only to their own violent behavior.

Thus Luther rescued government. He had already shown to the pope that the secular powers (the State) do not owe their authority to the Church, and therefore are not dependent upon it. And now he had rescued them from these rebellious peasants, who attempted by force to do away with all government entirely. At the same time he maintained the purity of the gospel, and saved the Reformation from developing into a revolution.

19. Luther Establishes the Evangelical Form of Worship.

AFTER his return to Wittenberg, Luther had done away with the arbitrary and violent changes which Carlstadt had introduced in the form of worship customary in Wittenberg, and had essentially re-established the former form of service. It was necessary to destroy the delusion that external changes in the form of worship were the principal need. Yet private Mass was not again established in the parish church in which Luther was wont to preach. Holy Communion was also administered in both forms to them who had the necessary understanding, and desired both the bread and wine. And in many of the prayers connected with the celebration of Holy Communion (Canon of the Mass) those portions were omitted in which reference is made to Communion as an unbloody repetition of the sacrifice of Christ (Sacrifice of the Mass). Corpus Christi day, in which the consecrated

host was carried through the streets and adored by the people was no longer observed.

But when in this way the people were shown most clearly that external changes in the forms of worship are not essential, and when by unceasing preaching and teaching the understanding of the great facts of salvation was deepened and strengthened, Luther himself proceeded to make changes in the existing form of divine service. With his two writings, Form of Mass (Latin, 1523) and the Deutsche Messe (German Mass) (German, 1526) he introduced the regular Common Service in all its essential features as we have it today. It was used in common in nearly all Lutheran countries and churches. In contradistinction to Carlstadt, however, he did not intend simply to cast aside the traditional service and introduce an entirely new one, but he rather limited himself to such changes which the new understanding of the Gospel demanded. This especially manifests his conservative character and his regard for the common man.

But what was the form of worship which

he found established in Wittenberg, and which in its essential feature was and still is customary in the Roman Church? What we today term the Common Service was then known as Mass, which is a Latin word used already in the early Church. The essential parts of the Common Service were already established in the early Church and continued throughout the Middle Ages to the time of the Reformation. They were in no way commanded by God through His apostles but had simply developed in time, and through the influence of Rome had finally come to be the order of the Church throughout the Christian world. If changes were to be made, this did in nowise involve an insurrection against divine will. Still it must be done with due consideration and without violent measures.

Mass, or the Common Service, in the early Church was divided into two parts. The first part included the reading of the lessons, the sermon and the prayer, as its principal parts; the second reached its climax in the celebration of Holy Communion. All people were admitted to the first part, while only

those who had been properly instructed and baptized, and were communicant members of the Church, were admitted to the second. During the Middle Ages the sermon was largely omitted from the first part. There was no preaching at all, or this took place at another occasion. Thus it came that Mass was looked upon as complete even though the sermon was omitted, and many Masses in which there was no preaching at all were said in addition to the regular Mass (Common Service), which began at 9 o'clock.

In Luther's time Mass or the Common Service, at which all parishioners should be present, was conducted somewhat as follows: Its regular parts were not conducted in the vernacular or language of the people, but in the Latin language. If there was a sermon, this was given in German. Feast day, perhaps, the people were permitted a German hymn, while otherwise the singing was done entirely by a choir. Sometimes after the sermon there was a confession of sins in German, and the absolution was pronounced in the same language. The con-

gregation disappeared entirely behind the priest and his sacerdotal office. It was a quiet spectator, not even an understanding auditor, and still less one who took active part in the service. After a preparatory service, which was sometimes, though not regularly, held, and which originally took place in the sacristy and then on the steps that lead to the altar, and consisted of quotations from psalms (Ps. 43:4, etc.), confession of sins and absolution (spoken by the priest and his assistants), the priest approached the altar. As he entered the chancel, or as he ascended the altar, the choir chanted the Introit. This consisted of words taken from the Old Testament. It was called the Introit because to enter (namely, the chancel) and ascend (to the altar) is called introitus in Latin. The Introit marked the beginning of the service proper. It was followed, likewise chanted by the choir, by Lord, have mercy upon us (Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison; each of the three parts chanted three times). Congregations loved to join in chanting the Kyrie. In some sections congregations had also as-

sumed the privilege of adding a special Kyrie hymn, called "Leise." Then came the Gloria in excelsis (glory be to God on high, and on earth peace, good will toward men. We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, etc. See Church Book.) The salutation by the priest, "The Lord be with you," to which the assistants responded, "And with thy spirit," led over to a certain prayer by the priest, called Collect. Then came the reading of the Epistle, at the end of which the assistants responded, "Praise be to Thee, O God." The choir now chanted several verses from psalms, together with the repeated Hallelujah (Gradual). Feast days the choir often rendered a longer hymn called Sequence. After the Salutation, "The Lord be with you," and the response, "And with thy spirit," followed the reading of the Gospel by the priest, preceded by the assistants with "Glory be to Thee, O Lord," and closed with "Praise be to Thee, O Christ." The Creed (Nicene) intoned by the priest and chanted by him and the choir brought the first part of the Mass, or Common Service, to a close. If there was a ser-

mon, it was added at this place, sometimes together with the Confession and Absolution in German. But the emphasis was laid not on this, but entirely and altogether on the second part, which culminated in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

It was begun with the Offertory. This part was so called because in early times the elements necessary for communion (bread and wine) and other gifts were placed on the altar as offerings by the faithful. This custom had long since passed away, but the name remained. In place of these offerings of gifts from nature a series of prayers had been put, which from an early date spoke of the body of Christ as the true sacrifice which the priest offers to God to propitiate for his own and the sins of the people. After these prayers which were not only wrong, but at this time when the bread and wine had not yet been transformed into the body and blood of Christ, were entirely out of place, there followed the Preface, in which the priest greeted the congregation, "The Lord be with you," and with his, "Lift up your hearts," exhorted them to the proper

inner preparation, and with his, "It is truly meet, right, and salutary," etc., admonished them to thank God. The Sanctus (Isaiah 6:3) with its hymn of praise, "Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord," (Ps. 118:26) closed the preface and the Canon of the Mass began.

This consisted of a lengthy series of prayers, which in ever new variations expressed the thought, that the body and blood of Jesus is the offering, which the priest offers to God for the salvation of the living and the dead. In the midst of these prayers the words of the institution were placed, and in the opinion of the Roman Church, while the priest spoke the words, "This is my body," "This is the cup of my blood, the new and eternal Testament," the bread was changed into the body and the wine into the blood of the Christ. It was brought about by the almighty word of the priest. After this change had taken place the priest elevated host and cup (Elevation) and the whole congregation fell upon its knees and adored them. This was the acme of the service, for not that was the principal thing, to

receive the divine gift of the body and blood of Christ, but the transformation and the sacrifice of the Mass, i. e., the offering up of the bread and wine now changed and transformed into the body and blood of Jesus, a sacrifice to God, thereby to repeat His sacrifice on the cross for the salvation of the living and the dead. The Lord's Prayer, the threefold Agnus Dei, O Christ, Thou Lamb of God, and other prayers led over to the eating and drinking of the bread and wine by the priest, and if other communicants were present, which was by no means always the case, and for that matter was not deemed necessary for a perfect and correct celebration of the Mass, then these, too, were given the bread (but not the cup). Various prayers and the reading of John 1:1-14, formed the close. These single parts were united with certain prescribed ceremonies, like folding of hands, bending of knees, etc., which the priest was bound to observe. Especially in the Canon of the Mass he dared not alter one syllable nor a single gesture, if his act was to be valid, and a work pleasing to God.

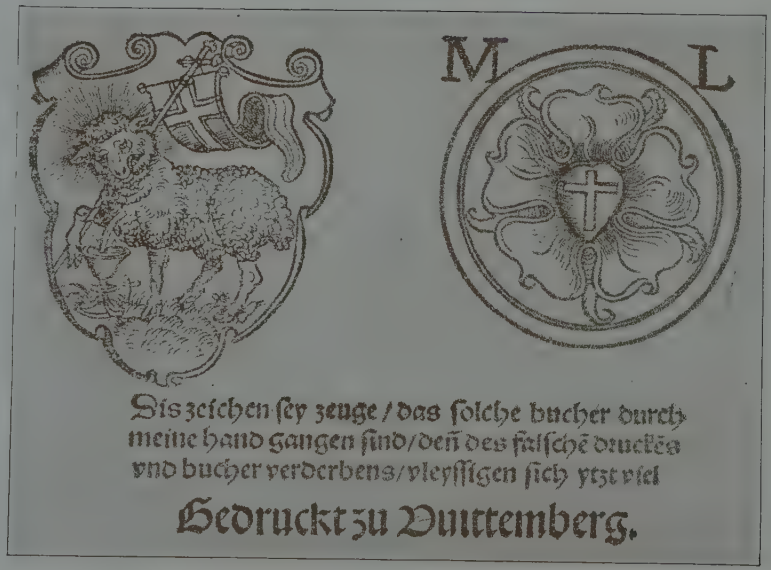
What did Luther do with this traditional

service in order to transform it into an evangelical worship? A glance into our Church Book or a recollection of our Common Service shows that he retained the basic form and in the first part all essential features. Only this was new. 1) He viewed the whole service not as a work on our part with which we serve God and merit His grace, but as something by means of which God grants us His Word and the Sacraments and freely gives to us His grace, so that we can not do otherwise than serve Him in love and gratitude through singing and praying. 2) He gradually abolished the use of the Latin language in the service, which Rome had more and more forced upon all the people as the only language approved by God for divine worship, and gave to the congregations a form of service in their own language, which they could fully understand. 3) He permitted the congregation to speak and take active part, by giving back to the congregation those parts now assumed by the assistants and the choir, so that the congregation itself could sing, pray, and confess, and even the

pastor, in spite of the divine institution of his office, is only the mouthpiece and the organ of the congregation. 4) In the first part, which he took over without a change, he once for always assigned to the sermon its place, and termed it, together with the Sacrament, the chief part of the service. 5) In the second part he wholly abolished the thought of a Sacrifice of the Mass and did away with everything which referred to this, but in place of this emphasized the Words of Institution, and, as the offering of God's grace, caused it to be spoken or chanted, so that everyone could hear and understand. Thus he presented the Lord's Supper as the great gift of God, receiving which we receive forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. 6) He put an end to all the unnecessary ceremonies, in order that the Word of God, and the singing and praying of the congregation might the more be observed. 7) He in nowise maintained that the form of service as arranged by him was the only service correct and pleasing to God, but proposed and recommended this form, so that evangelical free-

dom might be preserved. And if the Lutheran Church followed his recommendation, so that nearly all her forms of the Common Service can be traced to the Form of the Mass, 1523, or the Deutsche Messe (German Mass), 1526, she did this also as a matter of fullest liberty.

Of the many other services which the Roman Church, in addition to the Mass, or Common Service, maintained, Luther retained many, for instance, the Early Service or Matins and the Evening Service or Vespers for Sunday afternoon, and services for individual week days. He used these services for reading and interpreting the Word of God, for instructing and training the congregation, especially the young people. The order of the Church Year was retained, which at the same time afforded the common man a kind of course in Bible history. In order that the congregation, especially parents and sponsors, might intelligently take part in the baptismal service, he also gave a German form for Baptism in his "Taufbuechlein" (Order of Baptism). Since marriage



FINAL PIECE FOR THE SECOND PART OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, TRANSLATED INTO GERMAN

Printed by Melchior Lotther in Wittenberg, 1524

was so little regarded as a divine institution, he gave to pastors for the marriage ceremony a German "Traubuechlein" (Order of Marriage), in which the various words of God that treat of marriage are held up to the groom and bride.

Thus the public worship, notwithstanding its close relation to the forms of the Roman Church, became something entirely new. The mere external ceremony, the thought of priest and sacrifices, was put to the background or entirely done away with, in order that the Word of God and the idea of the freedom of the children of God, who would thank and praise God with one accord, could take first place. Everything had become much more simple and evangelical.

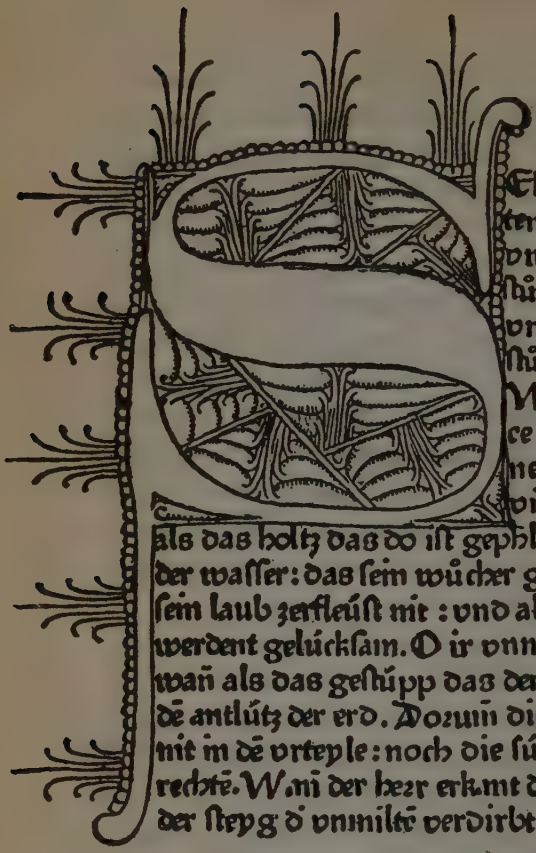
20. Luther Gives to the Evangelical Congregation the Bible in the Vernacular.

LUTHER introduced the evangelical form of worship. This included a Bible in the vernacular, a model and example for the sermon, a hymnbook, and a catechism. It fell to Luther to give these to the German people.

He first gave his people the Bible in their mother tongue. Without the Bible in the vernacular there is no such thing as an evangelical service. For it is through the means of the Word, read and explained, that God offers Himself to the congregation in its worship, also the Sacraments, become means of grace through the Word of God connected with them. But how should the congregation apprehend and receive the grace which God offers in the Word and Sacraments, if this Word is proclaimed in a language which is not understood? Besides, there is no true evangelical life unless the Bible is diligently used. For the Word of God alone is the source of forgiveness and consolation, the

proper guide to eternal life, and gives courage and strength in all conditions of this life.

The Bible used during the entire Middle Ages down to Luther's day is called the Vulgate. It was the Bible in Latin translation. The pope would not permit the use of another in public. Thus the people and even many of the priests themselves (for their knowledge of Latin was often negligible) profited but little by it. It is easily understood why individual parts of the Bible, and later on, the entire Bible were translated into the German. Since these translations needed no longer to be copied but could be published by means of the art of printing, which had just been invented, their number grew rapidly. From 1466 to 1521 eighteen German editions of the entire Bible were issued. Fourteen of these were in High German and four in Low German. But these versions were not made from the original Hebrew and Greek, but from the Latin translation (Vulgate). They included all the errors made by the Latin translator, and since the German translators ofttimes failed to understand the Latin Vulgate and slav-



PSALM 1

Proof of the second German Bible turned out by the printing press. It was published about 1470 by H. Eggesteyn, of Strassburg, and is a reprint of the first German Bible, printed by Joh. Mentel at Strassburg.

Die Erst Epistel Sanct Johannis:

Das Erst Capitel.



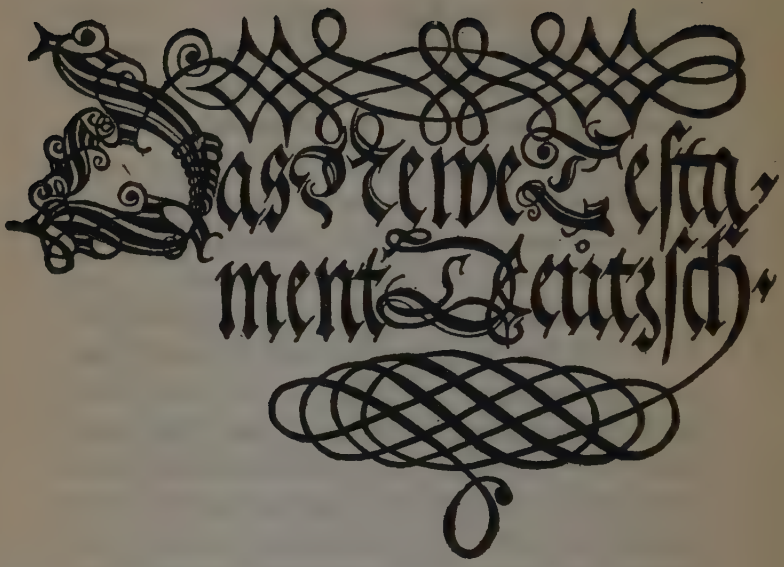
Als do vō anfang war. das wir gehöret haben, das wir gesehen haben mit vnsern augen/das wir beschawet haben/vnd vnser hende betastet haben/von dem wort des lebens/vñ das leben ist erschynen/vñ wir haben gesehen vnd zeügen vñ verkündigen eüch das leben das ewig ist/welchs war bey dem vater vnd ist vns erschynen/Was wir gesehen vnnd gehört haben/das verkündigen wir eüch/auff das auch jr mit vns gemeynschafft habet/vnnd vnser gemeynschafft sey mit dem vater vnd mit seinem sun Jhesu Christo/vnd solchs schreyben wir eüch auff das jr eüch frewet vnd ewer freüd völlig sey.

¶ Vnd das ist die verkündigung/die wir von jm gehört haben vñ euch verkündigen/das Got ein liecht ist/vñ in jm ist kein finsterniß So wir sagen/das wir gemeynschafft mit jm haben/vnnd wandelln im finsterniß/so liegen wir vnd thun nicht die warheit/ So wir aber im liechtt wandelln/wie er im liecht ist/so haben wir gemeynschafft vntereinander/vnd das blütt Jhesu Christi macht vns reyn von aller sünde.

So wir sagen/wir haben kein sünd/so verfüren wir vns selbs/ vnd die warheit ist nicht vns/so wir aber vnsere sünde bekennen/so ist er trew vnd gerecht/das er vns die sünde erlässt/vñ reynigt vns

ishly clung to the sequence of Latin words, many other errors were added. No less a personage than Luther's old opponent, Johann Eck, claimed to have noted 3,000 such mistakes. Thus a new translation had become imperative, if the Bible was really to be brought home to the people and understood by them.

Luther undertook this task during the solitudes of the Wartburg. His friends "demanded" this of him, Melanchthon encouraged it, he himself realized, that the work could no longer be postponed, if the Gospel was really to abide among the people. He began with the New Testament as the most important part. Taking up the work in the beginning of December, he finished it at the end of February, shortly before his return to Wittenberg. God had ordained that Erasmus of Rotterdam should issue the first edition of the New Testament in Greek in 1516, and that the second edition should appear in 1519. That was the foundation for Luther's work of translation. It had been clear to him from the beginning that it was not a question of rendering the Vulgate into Ger-



TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

It appeared September, 1522

man, but that he must needs translate from the original Hebrew and Greek, the languages in which the sacred scribes had originally written the Bible. Thus only could the precious contents be faithfully reproduced. And it was also clear to him, that among the multiplicity of German dialects he could only select one which was most capable of development and was most widely used in his day. This was the language of the Saxon court, which at the same time held the golden mean between the broad and stiff High German and the soft and flexible Low German. He himself at a later time declared, "I speak according to the Saxon court, which is followed by all the princes in Germany. All imperial cities and princely courts write according to the Saxon court. It was the most used German tongue. Emperor Maximilian and Elector Frederick have moulded the German language into one language in the Roman Empire." The court writers in those days, like attorneys and jurists today, indulged in long, ponderous and complicated sentences, but Luther's predilection for what is simple and

natural preserved him from slipping into this same error. The language of the court in those days lacked a variety of words and phrases. It was impossible to reproduce the rich contents of the New Testament by its use. Luther, therefore, used many expressions which were not used in the written tongue, though current among the people, and also attempted to coin many entirely new ones. The language of the Saxon court "offered him only the starting point. In addition to this he looked upon the lips of the common man," listened to the mother in her house, to the children playing on the street, to the speech of the people in the marketplace, the apprentices in the shops of artisans. His language was alive among these folks, though in ever changing new forms and expressions. Thus Luther in his version of the Bible and his many other German writings really became the creator of modern High German, and to the present day there is none who ever had a better command of this language than Luther.

If in former days the German language was looked upon as uncouth, crude, con-

temptible, and almost unusable, so that scholars claimed they could only express their thoughts properly in Latin, it was Luther who gave it new life and secured for it the proper esteem. "In Luther the master arose, who recognized that the German languages possessed all those elements which were regarded as lacking, and that it only remained for some one to bring them to the light of day. He recognized the princess in the scorned Cinderella, rescued her from her despised humbleness, rinsed her beautiful eyes and noble countenance of the ashes and the dirt of common servitude, took from her her vile rags, clothed and decorated her in the habiliments of wealth and royalty, so that her inherent walk and attitude of quality, her beauty, virility, and elasticity of youth, and her entire nobility became radiantly apparent." No man has ever been of such pioneer and enduring importance for the language of his people as Luther was for the German language. And this is due overwhelmingly to his translation of the Bible.

These two facts especially put Luther's

German Bible head and shoulders above any other German version prior to his: 1) He is the first man to translate the Bible from the original languages, and on the whole reproduced its meaning better than any man before or after him. 2) He gave it to his German people in a language born out of their very being. And this was possible for Luther only because he himself lived and moved and had his very being in his Bible and in his German language. The best proof of the superiority of Luther's version lies in the fact that the Roman churchmen (especially Emser, Dietenberger, Eck), of course with the necessary changes made according to the Vulgate, diligently copied and reprinted it. In order to show how far superior it is to previously issued Roman Catholic translations, we here reproduce Psalm 23 according to the Catholic version of 1518:* "Der herr regieret mich und mir geprist nichts, und an der stat der weide, da satzt er mich. Er hat mich gefueret auf dem wasser der wieder-

* Since this is a question of comparing German version with German version, we attempted no translation but gave the aforesaid psalm in the original German.—Translator.

pringung, er bekeret mein sel. Er fuert mich auss auf die steig der gerechtigkeit, umb seinen namen. Wann ob ich gee in mitte des schatten des todes, ich fuercht nit die ueblen ding, wann du bist bei mir. Dein ruot und dein stab, die selben haben mich getroestet. Du hast bereitet den tisch in meinem angesicht, wider die, die mich betrueben. Du hast erfeistet mein haubt in dem oel, und mein kelch machet trunken, wie lauter er ist. Und dein erparmde nachvolget mir alle tag meines lebens, das auch ich inwohne in dem hausz des herren, in die leng der tag." Compare with the above Luther's version of the 23d psalm.

After his return to Wittenberg, Luther carefully revised his entire translation of the New Testament with Melanchthon's help. He also often sought the advice of Spalatin in order to find the proper German word. Towards the end of September it was printed and put on the market and sold at 1½ gulden per copy (= 75c; though the purchasing power of money was then twenty times greater than today). It was illustrated by a number of wood cuts by Cranach, and

Luther had given to the entire New Testament, also to the individual epistles and the Revelations of St. John splendid prefaces to facilitate their proper understanding. While the New Testament was still in the hands of the printers Luther already labored at the translation of the Old Testament. Here he was assisted especially by Melanchthon, Aurogallus, and on many points also by Spalatin. 1524 the first three parts (Historical books, Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon) were finished. The work then lay at rest owing to the stress of other duties, until in 1532 the Prophets were completed, and in 1534, after the translation of the Old Testament Apocrypha, the entire Bible could be issued. Before and after, Luther diligently filed and polished the different parts, often sought a certain expression for weeks at a time, asked the butchers for the proper terms for the different parts of the animals for sacrifice, counselled with natural scientists to learn the proper names of animals, investigated the Elector's collection of precious stones to find the names of the stones men-



THE PULPIT IN THE CITY CHURCH AT WITTENBERG
Where Luther delivered most of his sermons

tioned in the Revelation of St. John. In 1539 Luther again revised the entire translation and for this purpose held weekly conferences with Melanchthon, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Aurogallus, and Roerer. Learned friends from elsewhere also often took part in these conferences. So much was Luther concerned to give to his people an absolutely reliable version of the Bible in their own language.

And this really was his greatest gift to his people and entire Christendom, for now the fount of salvation was open for all men. We can understand Luther if he thought all other books were superfluous now that the Bible was to be had in a reliable German version. The joy with which Luther's work was welcomed, can be seen from the fact that from 1522 to 1533 no less than 85 editions of the New Testament became necessary. And a statement by Cochlaeus, the implacable foe of Luther, also gives evidence of the same fact. He wrote, "The New Testament has found such a wonderful dissemination that cobblers, women, and all laymen have read it, carried it about with them, and received

its contents into their memory. Thus in a few months' time they have grown so arrogant that they have not only dared to dispute over the faith with Catholic laymen, but also with priests and monks; yes, with masters and doctors of theology. Luther has imbued his followers with the conviction that no statement needs to be credited that is not founded in Holy Writ. Thus it happened that laymen contradicted theologians in public because they were presumed to have preached lies and human inventions!"

21. Luther Shows the Meaning of an Evangelical Sermon.

ANOTHER factor in the true evangelical service is the evangelical sermon, for by means of the Word proclaimed in the sermon God approaches men, calls forth and renews the faith in them (Romans 10:17), and thus affords them the strength and joy of living.

Of course there was preaching in the Church before Luther's day. Even during the darkest periods of the Middle Ages there was still some preaching. But in most places there was no regular Sunday sermon by the parish priest for the congregation for centuries. The fact is, priests as a rule were too ignorant and too indolent to discharge this duty so that people were forced to undertake the often distant journey to the seat of the bishop or to the cloister when they would hear a sermon, or they trailed behind the itinerant preachers who went from town to town and preached repentance. There was nothing strange about it then if some mem-

bers of the Church heard but few or no sermons at all during a lifetime. Towards the end of the Middle Ages a change took place. Then, indeed, the regular Sunday sermon for the congregation was introduced in most places, especially in the cities, and in many instances in rural sections also. Although there were still many ignorant priests, especially in the villages, who could not even read a sermon with any measure of fluency, yet priests on the whole stood on a somewhat higher intellectual plane than before. Volumes of sermons that appeared in many editions showed them down to the minutest detail what and how to preach. It was a common occurrence for priests simply to read the sermons of others, or to commit them to memory and recite them as if they were the product of their own labors. Or they invited certain monks, who were better versed in this art than they, to preach for them. Thus at Luther's time preaching was as regular in the cities of many sections of Germany as it is in our day.

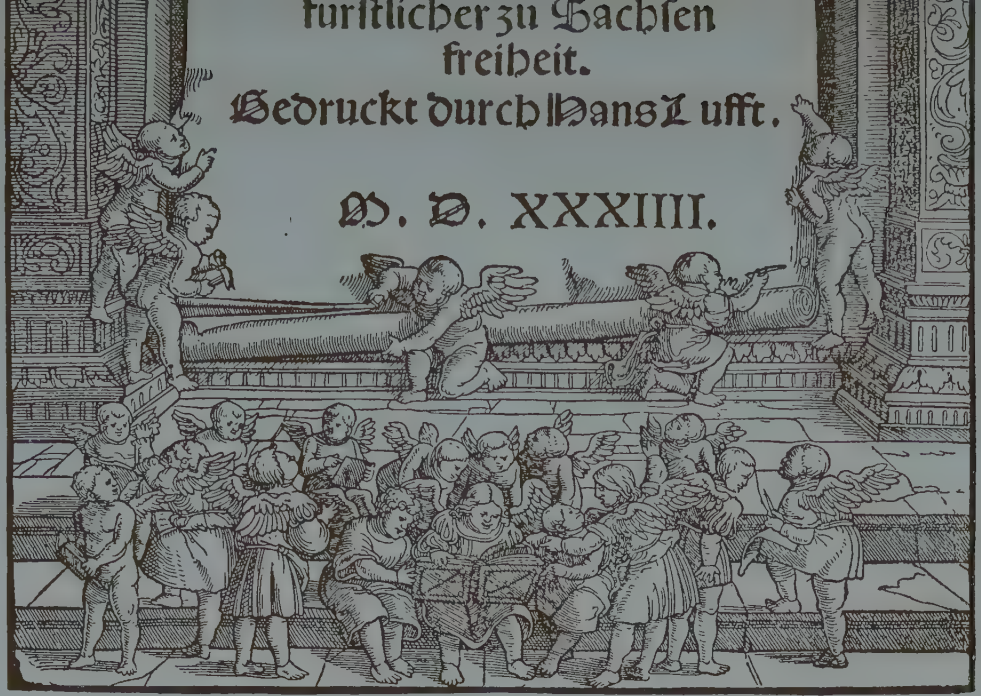
And yet Luther himself said, that during his residence at Erfurt (1501-1508, and about



Biblia/ das ist/ die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch.

Mart. Luth.

Wittemberg.



TITLE-PAGE OF LUTHER'S FIRST EDITION OF THE WHOLE BIBLE
Wittenberg, 1534

1509-1511) he heard no evangelical sermon. Quite true; for though Sunday after Sunday he usually heard a sermon, sometimes even sat at the feet of some pulpit celebrity (Jenser von Paltz), yet for all this he heard no evangelical sermon during all this time, and this for the simple reason that though these sermons discussed all sorts of things, they steered clear of the principal thing, namely, the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Savior of men. This only true subject of the pulpit was restored through Luther. As the whole, public worship again became evangelical through Luther, so also the sermon again received its evangelical contents through him. Up until then the Virgin as the true queen of heaven and the source of salvation, the invocation of saints without whose mediation no man can approach God, priests and popery which only has the power to forgive the sins of the living, and rescue the dead from purgatory, indulgence without which there is no eternal life, the sanctity of cloister life with its three vows of celibacy (the unmarried estate), absolute poverty, and perfect obedience, meritorious works,

that supplement the redemptive work of the Christ, etc., were the absorbing themes for preachers. And when preachers spoke about other things, such as prayer, church attendance, confession, Mass, child training, the ten commandments, etc., the sermon was filled with man-made things, pious inventions and legends, so that the simple gospel of the grace of God in Christ Jesus was beclouded and suppressed.

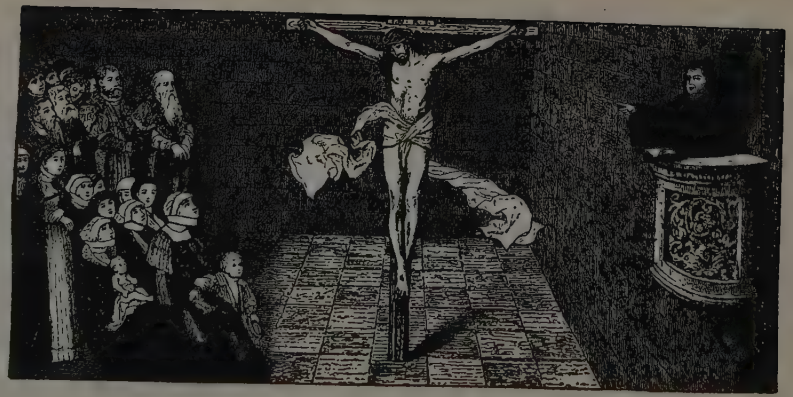
Thus there was a sermon preached at Erfurt and included in a model collection of sermons, which discussed the subject, "How Mary in her humility drew God from heaven, took the three cloister vows for all monks and nuns, founded all convents, and instituted the entire Christian faith." And then the preacher narrated how Mary, who grew up in the temple, never wished and prayed for anything with more yearning and more ardor than for the birth of the Savior, and how she, in order to serve Him without hindrance during her entire life, solemnly vowed eternal virginity, absolute poverty, and unreserved obedience. Finally her yearning is fulfilled. On account of her hu-

mility she herself was ordained from all eternity to be the mother of the Savior. But how is this possible? Has she not vowed to remain a virgin all her life? In order to solve this problem the preacher tells of the following conversation which took place from eternity between the three persons of the Holy Trinity, "God the Father says to the Son and the Holy Ghost: 'What will we do with this maiden? In order the better and more devotedly to serve Us, she has vowed virginity, poverty, and obedience. But We have ordained from all eternity that she shall be the mother of Our Son, and this seems to be a contradiction, to be a true mother and yet remain a virgin.' And then the Spirit answered, 'That ought to cause Us no difficulty. She herself has taught Us what We must do, when so often she reminded Us of Our Omnipotence. We will apply this. Then she can cling to her determination, and We to Our resolution.' Then spake the Son, 'That is the best counsel. But one thing I ask for her, since I am to be born of her and through my bitter suffering and death redeem the world, namely, that

her prayer concerning these three vows be heard not only as it concerns her, but also concerning all others who take upon them the same vows. They, too, shall live in voluntary celibacy (unmarried). And in honor of her there shall be cloisters at suitable places, in which persons of the same resolution are admitted, to imitate her to the end of the world.' Then answered the dearest Father, 'My Son, Thy will be done, for Thy will is the same as Mine.' And the Holy Ghost spoke in like manner. Thus the humility of Mary drew the Son of God down from heaven, and through her own example she caused the Son of God, even before His birth, to indicate the way of the cloister as the true way of salvation!" Is there any question as to the need of a total reformation of the sermon?

That there was much preaching was to Luther's liking. He said at one time, "It is better to omit everything than the Word, and there is nothing better than the use of the Word, for Christ says, One thing is needful, namely, to sit with Mary at Jesus' feet, and listen to His Word." And at another occa-

sion, "It is through the Word that the world is conquered, through the Word that the Church is preserved, and through the Word will she also be renewed"; and at another time, "The Devil cares nothing about the written Word, but where it is spoken and preached, he flees." And he was not satisfied that only the Gospel and Epistle were read at Mass, and the sermon merely added outside of Mass, i. e., the common service. He would have it in the common service itself, for in his opinion the common service lacked its main factor without the sermon. Thus he placed it after the Gospel and the Creed, so that in the sermon the first part of the service found its height. And he gave this place to the sermon, because it can be nothing else than the proclamation, interpretation and application of the divine Word. Not useless questions, or foolery, nor yet human inventions dare be its content, but the Gospel of Jesus Christ, crucified and resurrected. (1 Cor. 1:18, 23, 24; 2:2; Gal. 3:2.) Through such a sermon Luther said, "Christ comes to you, or you are brought to Him." There rises, "the most beautiful sun, Jesus



LUTHER PREACHING

After a painting by L. Cranach in the City Church at Wittenberg. The artist expresses the thought that Luther in his sermon did not want to know anything but Christ crucified.

Christ," whose rays glorify all things; there "the day breaks and makes all things alive, joyous, happy, full of activity, and brings all good things." In Christ all things are made manifest, "who God is, what we are, were and shall be, heaven, hell, earth, angels, devils. There we learn how to comfort ourselves in this and all things, and over against all things, whence and whither we go." Such preaching in Christ awakens faith, and through faith love and good works. And faith made manifest in love is the very essence of Christianity.

As his texts Luther used the regular Sunday pericopes, i. e., those lessons that are taken from the four gospels or the epistles of the New Testament which were regularly read on Sunday in Mass. These lessons had their origin in the times of the ancient Church, so that Luther would not cast them aside for the sake of their great age, and because he well knew how salutary it is for the common people and their introduction to biblical truth, when the same texts often recur. Yet he thought it desirable to have the traditional series of Scripture les-

sons carefully revised. Especially did he find fault with the epistle selections because they did not sufficiently emphasize the great central truth of Holy Writ, justification by faith through the grace of God in Christ. Luther at least succeeded in having such lessons allotted for the last Sundays of the Church year which treat of death, the return of Christ, and the last judgment. But in addition to the ancient pericopes Luther also often preached consecutively on entire books of the Bible, and also interpreted the catechism from his pulpit.

He was a sermonizer by the grace of God. Because he was so well at home in the Bible and filled with such confidence in the Word of God, because he knew the heart of man and was a master of language without an equal, he became the greatest preacher since the days of the apostles. During his days in the cloister at Erfurt he preached with hesitancy. He did not ascend the public pulpit until he resided at Wittenberg. Later on he sometimes preached daily. The fact that preachers were unskilled in preaching and the congregations ignorant finally persuaded

him to preach in German on the regular gospel and epistle lessons and to put these sermons into print. Thus his Churchpostil (Kirchenpostille) originated. He had scarcely reached the Wartburg when he intended to take up this important work, and he did not leave off until at least a part of it was completed and put on the market in print. Later on he finished it. Still later the sermons which he preached in his own home on account of sickness(1532-1534) were also published, and received the title Housepostil (Hauspostille). Both of these collections of sermons have been of the greatest importance for the advancement of the evangelical service, and have greatly helped in building up evangelical congregations. For they taught the preachers how to preach, how indeed they must preach. And in many homes they became much read books of devotions, so that Luther later on could not but rejoice from his whole heart that laymen now also so fully understood the gospels and epistles. He had but one end in mind, to lead them into the Holy Scriptures. Thus at one time he wrote, "For this reason in, in, dear Chris-

tians (the Holy Bible, namely), and may my interpretation and that of all other preachers be only a scaffold for the proper building, that we grasp the pure Word of God itself, taste, and remain with it, for there only God liveth in Zion."

22. Luther Gives to the Evangelical Congregation Its Hymnbook.

AN evangelical congregation must also have its evangelical hymn, for in its service the congregation stands before God as a group of spiritual priests, whose right and whose need it is to sing and play before Him. When Luther, 1523, went about to create an evangelical form of worship, he already felt the need of German hymns, to be sung not only by the choir but at the same time also by the people. Of course, there were all sorts of religious songs in existence in the German language, for the congregation had finally obtained the privilege from priests and the pope not only to unite with the priests and the choir in chanting the Kyrie, which hitherto had been the function of these only, but also to add an additional appropriate hymn on festive occasions. Besides this the people had created spiritual songs which were sung outside of the public worship. But among the existing hymns Luther found but few that breathed the

proper spirit. Thus it remained to reform the existing hymns, and create new ones.

Luther also took this work upon himself. He first applied to others whom he thought better qualified along poetical lines than himself. Thus he appealed to Spalatin to put Old Testament psalms into modern hymn form. He also encouraged Paul Speratus, who lived with him at the time, to similar work. The last named gave to the Church several hymns, the most important and best known of which is still found in all evangelical hymnals, "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her von Gnad und lauter Guete." But the brunt of the work here, too, fell upon Luther's own shoulders. And his first hymn intended for public worship, in form and contents, was eminently successful. It appeared as early as 1523, the same year in which he began to arrange the evangelical service. It is the hymn: "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein, und laszt uns froehlich springen." It expresses the congregation's joy over the great fact of redemption through Christ and its certainty of salvation thus gained. The same year, in addition to

Wo ein Husvader synem gesynde schal leren/sick des Morgens vnde Auendes tho segende.

Des Morgens wenn du vth dem bedde springest/so schalstu dy segenen mit dem Hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/de Vader/de Sönc/vnde de Hillige geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/ den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wolen/so machstu dyth bedeken darthó spreken.

Ick dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/dat du my desse nacht auer vor allem schaden vnde vare behodt vnde bewaret hefft/ Vnde bidde dy/Du willest my dessen dach auer ock bewaren/vor sünden vnde allem övel/dat dy alle myn dönt vnde leuent behage/Wente ick beuele/my/ myn liff vnde seele/vnde alle dinck/ynn dyne hende/Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde denne mit frowden tho dynem arbeide gehan/Vnde wör ein lede gesungen/alsede Tein bade/edder wat dyne andacht gifft.

Des Auendes wenn du tho bedde gheist/so schaltu dy segenen mit dem Hilligen Crütze vnde seggen.

Des wolde Godt/de Vader/de Söne/vnde de Hillige geist/ Amen.

Darna knyende edder stande/den Louen vnde dat Vader vnse spreken/ Wu lgu/so machstu dyth bedeken darthó spreken.

Ick dancke dy myn hemmelsche Vader/dorch Jhesum Christum dynen leuen Söne mynen Heren/dat du my dessen dach auer gnedichliken behodt vnde bewaret hefft/ Vnde bidde dy/Du willest my vorgeuen/alle myne sünde/wor ick vnrecht gedan hebbe/vnde my desse nacht auer ock gnedichliken bewaren/ Wente ick beuele/my/ myn liff vnde seele/vnde alle dinck/in dyne hende/Dyn hillige Engel sy mit my/dat de böse viendt nene macht auer my vinde/ Amen.

Vnde denne flucks vnde frölick geslapen.

Mart. Luther.

Gedruckt tho Wittemberch/dorch Nickel Schirlentz.
M.D.XXIX.

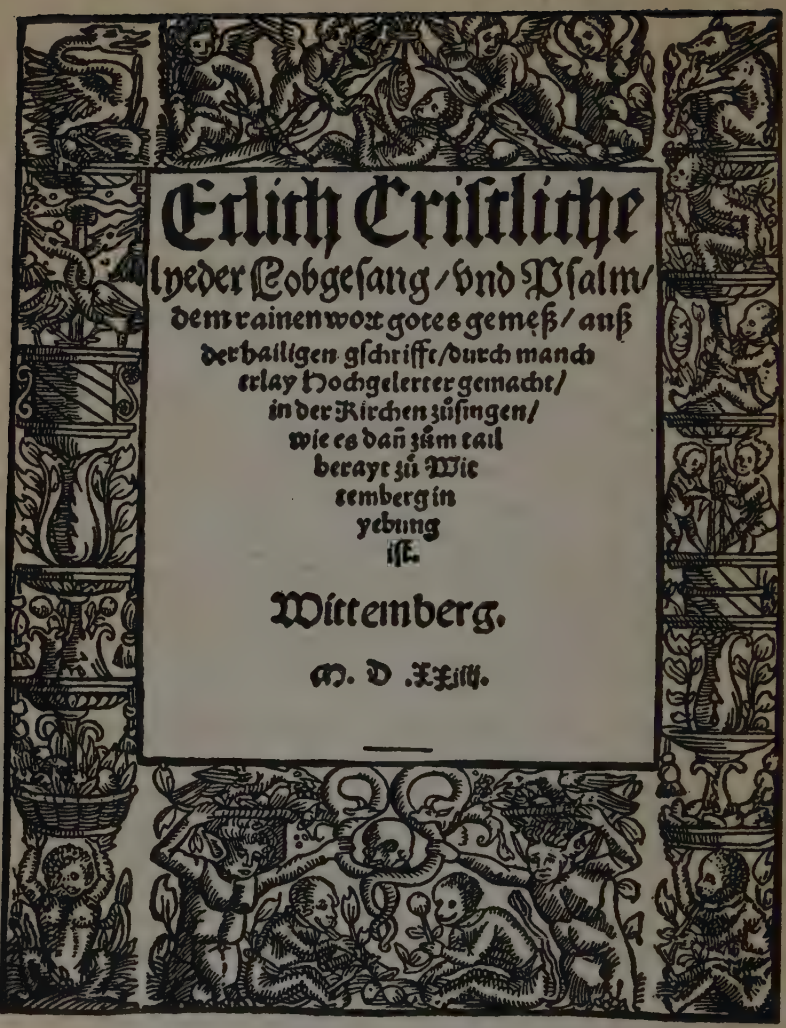
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A CATECHISM CHART IN LOW GERMAN OF 1529

The Small Catechism had appeared in form of posters or charts several months before Luther published it in book form. They were large or small sheets printed on one side; they could be put up on the wall of houses, schools and churches, so that they were always before the eyes of the people. The ones in High German were all lost, but of those in Low German one small chart was found. It contains the Morning and Evening Prayer. We publish it here after this one copy. Dimensions are one-fourth of the original.

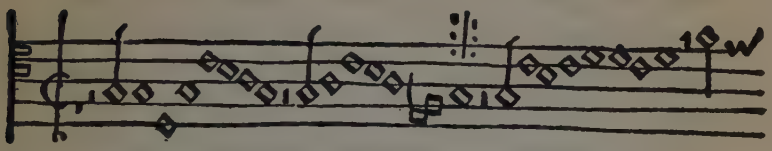
other hymns, also brought forth the one that is born out of the anguish over sin, "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir," and the well known Christmas Choral, "Gelobet seist du, Jesus Christ." At the close of 1524 twenty-four Church hymns were written by Luther, therefore, he is justly called the father of the evangelical hymn. It is amazing the fulness of gifts which the Holy Spirit poured out upon this one man, so that his faith-filled heart now also became the fount, from which such wealth of song flowed forth!

We know of twelve additional hymns by Luther after the year 1524, among these the great battle hymn of the Reformation, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (A mighty fortress is our God), written prior to 1529 (perhaps at an early date, as early as his trip to Worms?), the golden child's song, "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," and the hymn of supplication against the pope and the Turks, "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort." With some of his hymns Luther had a pattern which he used with poetical freedom. Sometimes it was a Latin hymn, which he reproduced in German verse (for in-

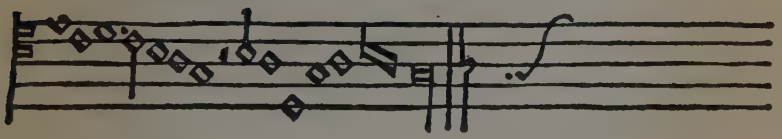


Title page of the first evangelical hymn-book printed at Wittenberg. It contained eight hymns, four of which were by Luther; Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein; Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh' darein, Es spricht der Unweisen Mund; Austiefer Not schrei ich zu dir.

Ein Christenlichs lyed Doctoris Martini Luthers/die vnaussprechliche gnad Gottes vnd des rechtenn glauwbens begreyffenndt.



Nun frewdt euch lieben Christenn gemayn.



Nun frewdt euch lieben Christen gemayn/ Vnd laßt vns frölich spryngen/Das wir getröst vnnd all in eyn/Mit lust vñ lyebe singen/Was gott an vnns gewendet hatt/Vnd seyn syesse wunder thatt/Gar theüwr hatt ers erworben/

Dem teuffel ich gefangen lag/Ym todt wardt ich verlorenn/ Mein sünd mich quellet nacht vnd tag/Darinn ich war geporñ/ Ich fiel auch ymmer tieffer dreyn/Es war kain gütts am lebenn meyn/Die sünd hatt mich besessen.

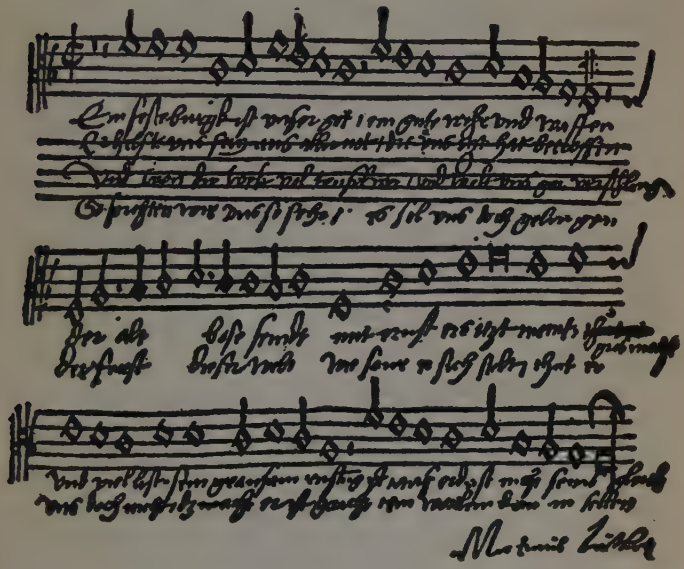
Mein gütte werck die golten nicht/Es war mit inn verdorbē/ Der frey will hasset gots gericht/Er war zům gütt erstorbē/Dye angst mich zů verzweyflen trib/Das nichts dann sterben bey mir blyb/Zůr hellen můßt ich sinckenn.

Dß yammert Gott in ewigkait/Mein ellend über massen/Er

stance, "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ," "Wir glauben all an einen Gott," "Mitten wir im Leben sind"). At other times he revised and augmented existing German hymns (for instance, "Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist," "Gott sei gelobet"), or he took psalms and moulded them into evangelical songs (for instance, "Es wolle Gott uns gnaedig sein," "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir"). But he also wrote original hymns, and among these are his very best productions, "Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort." Some of his hymns though patterned after biblical models must be evaluated as though they were entirely original, for instance "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," notwithstanding its contents are taken from the 46th psalm, or "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," though it begins with Luke 2:9, etc.

But hymns presuppose tunes, according to which they can be sung. In former days not a few of these tunes were also attributed to Luther. But as much as he loved music and fostered it, only two tunes can with a degree

of certainty be attributed to him. Again, of course, these two are especially fine tunes that fit their hymns perfectly, namely the



A MIGHTY FORTRESS IS OUR GOD
Handwriting of Bandmaster Johann Walther

tunes of "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott," and "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her." For many other hymns existing tunes well known to the people were taken, whether they were originally intended for Latin

hymns, for the choir or for religious folk songs, or for other songs, or other men created special new tunes to fit them.—The tunes must also have the necessary accompaniment, so that they can not only be sung by the congregation in solo, but this singing can also be accompanied by a polyphonic choir, or—what became more common at a later time—by an organ. For this work of composition Luther secured the services of the electoral precentor or master of song, Johann Walther. Thus in 1524 there appeared a "Geistliches Gesang-Buechlein" (A Spiritual Hymn Book) with a preface by Luther and the musical setting for the choir by Johann Walther, though in the same year there had already been published, though we do not know in which sequence, a Wittenberg hymn book, with eight hymns, and two Erfurt hymn books, each with twenty-five hymns. This hymnal contained thirty-two German and five Latin hymns. Luther was the author of twenty-four of these. The aforementioned other collections either offered only the solo tune, or, as is often done today, only named the "tune" according to

which the hymn was to be sung. The hymn book edited by Luther and Walther, "Geistliches Gesang-Buechlein," was intended for the Latin schools in the cities, for Luther desired that a choir of students should accompany the singing of the congregations.

With the publication of the evangelical hymnal Luther had taken another important step to spread and fortify the Gospel, and thus also to found the evangelical Church. The people committed the hymns to memory and became possessed of the most important parts of Christian truth. Soon the hymnal became one of the most important books of devotion for the evangelical home. In some places the evangelically inclined suddenly began to sing an evangelical hymn in the midst of a Roman Catholic service and would not cease until they had brought the priest to quit. In many instances they thus forced the calling of an evangelical pastor and helped the Reformation to succeed. The hymnal to the present day is one of the most precious treasures of the evangelical Church, which her people whether at church or at home ought the more diligently to use. And in the

appropriate tunes, the chorals, she possesses a treasure, which is mountain high above everything which in our country is called Church music. The Church must only learn to sing them properly, i. e., rhythmically. Luther termed the hymn book, the Bible of the simple-minded and the scholars, and in 1529 in a sermon called to his Wittenberg congregation, "How the pious are inflamed through these hymns! Look to it diligently, that you learn and sing them better than heretofore!"

23. Luther Gives to the Young and the People in General His Small Catechism.

LUTHER also regarded a thorough instruction of the people, and the growing youth as a vital part of the complete evangelical service. Thus he says in his "Deutsche Messe" of 1526, "Very well, in God's Name! In the first place the German service needs a rude, simple, common, good catechism" (i. e., oral instruction).

Prior to Luther such instruction of the young and simple-minded was very much lacking. Indeed, Sunday after Sunday the Articles of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Ave Maria, and many other parts were to be read aloud and plainly by the priest, so that the old might not forget them, and might teach them to their children at home; and sponsors at baptism were to be able to recite them and promise to teach them to the children whom they sponsored. And priests, too, were supposed to inquire of parents and sponsors in confession whether they had discharged this duty, and also ex-

amine the children. But, alas, in many places this was not done, so that not a few grew up who were not even able to recite them. And for an explanation of these parts, there was still less done. Only a meager number of places possessed common schools, and even in the Latin schools these parts were not explained. There were some handbooks for the teaching of these parts, but only a few possessed them. And besides, like the sermons that were preached here and there on the Ten Commandments, they were intended only for adults, and contained much of error and the unbiblical. Bible history was only known to the extent of the biblical pictures in the churches, and, what, perhaps, was learned from biblical picture books.

Thus Luther was very much concerned, to explain all these ancient parts of Christian doctrine and conduct to the people in his sermons in a truly evangelical manner. When he supplied for Simon Heinz, the pastor of the Wittenberg parish church, in the summer of 1516, he began to preach on the Ten Commandments. Finishing these



Die Siebend bitte.

Sondern erlöse vns von dem vbel.

Was ist das? Antwort.

Wir bitten ynn diesem gebet/ als ynn der summa / das vns der Vater ym Hymel von allerley vbel leibs vnd seele/ guts vnd ehre erlöse / vnd zu letzt wen vnser stündlin kompt/ ein seliges ende beschere / vnd mit gnaden von diesem iamertal zu sich neme yn den Hymel.

F ij

Two pages from the third Wittenberg book edition of the Small Catechism of 1529. The first three chief parts were illustrated by twenty colored pictures; one picture to each commandment, article or petition. On the one side was shown a picture; on the other that part of the Catechism which it illustrated. One of the two pictures which were preserved is that of the seventh petition. It represents the Canaanite woman. We show here the picture without colors and four-fifths in size. The original was 16-mo.

in February, 1517, he preached on the Lord's Prayer during Lent. In order that his parishioners might prepare for the Easter confession, he put a short explanation of the Ten Commandments into their hands this same spring. Though a very busy man, he did not regard it as beneath his dignity to gather the children about him in the evening and explain the Lord's Prayer to them. 1520 he published his "Kurze Form" (Short Form) in which he gave to the Christian home a masterful explanation of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In 1521 he succeeded in having a special instructor (Katechet) appointed for the religious instruction of the youth of Wittenberg. After his return from the Wartburg he published his "Betbuechlein" (Manual of Prayer), in which he reprinted his Kurze Form of 1520. For many years it was used in the homes, and in some places also in the schools. Beginning with 1523, each year he preached on one or another part of the catechism, and permitted no one at Holy Communion who could not answer the most important questions on the

meaning of this sacrament in confession. The year following (1524) he emphatically insisted on the establishment of Christian schools. And the following year (1525) he resolved to write a catechism, i. e., a short instruction in Christian truth. When he wrote his "Deutsche Messe" (1526), he showed how the catechism, i. e., the religious instruction of the young and simple, must be an essential function of the home, but also a vital feature of the evangelical worship. The parts of the catechism should be read every Sunday, and be explained in the sermons on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. At home the father should have the children and servants recite them, and as well as he could, explain them to them himself. He should also have them commit Bible verses to memory, and briefly explain them. With Luther's approbation and co-operation official visitors in churches and schools of Electoral Saxony, in 1528-1529, were ordered to see to it, 1) that from now on everywhere on Sunday afternoon the young and the servants are instructed in church on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the

Sacraments of Baptism and Communion; 2) that wherever there are day schools Wednesday or Saturday are devoted exclusively to religious instruction; 3) that in the villages the sexton or sacristan should teach the children the first three parts and the most important of German hymns, for none can hereafter be permitted to Holy Communion without the knowledge of these things.

In spite of the stress of other work Luther himself took active part in this visitation of the churches and schools. Here and there he discovered such an astonishing ignorance of Christian truth with priests and laymen alike, that he determined to postpone the writing of a catechism for the simple no longer. For he found priests who themselves did not know the catechism parts even without the explanation, and laymen who did not know why God is termed almighty. He had hardly returned from his tour of visitation, when he immediately set to work, and at the close of 1528 or the beginning of 1529 he wrote the first three parts of what later became his small catechism. He had

them printed on large pieces of cardboard "papers," or "tablets," that could be hung on the walls of the homes, schools, and churches, so that they were constantly before the eyes of old and young. In March the other two parts followed, and an instruction on confession. May 16 the small catechism in book form was finished. The different parts were originally intended for the fathers in the homes, so that they might each day read or recite them to their children and servants at morning and evening devotions, until they were able to recite them from memory, whereupon they were continually to repeat them. Luther knew that only in this way would they become flesh and blood with them. At school this same task devolved upon the teacher. Luther then added other parts which were used in public worship: his order of baptism (Taufbuechlein), of marriage (Traubuechlein), the litany. Others later added other things, several hymn verses and psalms. It had become an "Enchiridion," i. e., a handbook for pastors and laymen, which they took with them to church. In his preface Luther speaks es-



TITLE-PAGE OF LUTHER'S SMALL CATECHISM



FRONTISPIECE TO THE 1 CHIEF PART IN THE WITTENBERG EDITION OF 1536

The first and second (High German) Wittenberg edition of the Small Catechism is lost; the third (June, 1529) is preserved only in parts. The fourth was sold to England. The fifth was published 1535. The one of 1536 was the sixth. Our reprint shows the original size of the printed space.



TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION
OF LUTHER'S LARGE CATECHISM

Wittenberg, 1529

pecially to the pastors, that they should see to it, that the young receive the necessary religious instruction, in home, school, and church. Here he also gave them hints as to the proper use of the book. He says to the pastors, "I beg you for God's sake, my dear sirs and brethren, heartily to discharge the functions of your office, sympathize with the people committed to your care, and help us to bring the catechism among them, especially the young." He comforts them who would tire under the burden of the work, "Christ Himself will be our reward, if we do faithful work." And he cautions them who would not learn, "Those that will not learn should be told, how they deny Christ and are no longer Christians; they should not be permitted at holy communion, nor to sponsor a child at its baptism, nor yet dare use a single part of evangelical liberty, but be committed to the pope and his officials, even the devil himself. And parents and houselords should deny them meat and drink."

What a lofty opinion Luther must have had of the religious instruction of the young,

when he himself devoted so much time and energy to this work, and when he could thus appeal and warn! He knew, the future of the Church depends on its young. The Lutheran Church and fidelity in instructing the young in the elements of faith are therefore inseparably conjoined. Luther's catechism has also proven a source from which four centuries long blessing upon blessing has flowed. Great men at all time have sung its praises, and it is revered most by them who understand it best, and from their hearts believe and live according to it with all faithfulness.

As Luther gave to his catechism Bible pictures, he also gave to us in the same year (1529) in his "Passional" the first Bible History.

24. Luther Founds Evangelical Schools and Trains an Evangelical Ministry.

IF new life was to blossom forth in Germany in addition to the evangelical service a new system of schools must needs arise, to train men for leadership so necessary in Church and State. Luther recognized this fact and from 1524 on worked with all energy for the elevation of the existing schools and the establishment of new ones.

There were schools before Luther's day, and not only cloister schools at that. Since the days of the crusades especially, many cities had established Latin schools, to which were added the German schools for writing and arithmetic, especially intended to prepare for commercial pursuits. In single instances in the Rhine provinces (due to the increased commercial intercourse and thus also the greater wealth and desire for culture) there were even a few village schools. Some of the schools were also taught by able and efficient teachers, especially those conducted by the "Brethren of the Common

Life." Of course, in many instances the contrary was the case; and the schools in Saxony seem to have been inefficient and on a low plane. But even the best knew nothing of the Gospel, and that alone was sufficient to necessitate their reformation.

Luther, who could himself sing a song of the deplorable schools of his day, had already championed the case of the neglected young, who attended poor schools or none at all, in his great writing to the Nobility of the German Nation (1520). During the year following this became all the more necessary, since many schools were given up when the cloisters ceased to be and since visionaries like Carlstadt and others condemned the knowledge of ancient languages and thus all schooling in general (the study of ancient languages was the principal object in the curriculum of most higher schools in those days) or at least lowered it in the esteem of the people. Over against this Luther was untiring in his exhortation to foster and establish schools. In 1523 the city school of Wittenberg was re-established, and to the people of Eisenach Luther wrote, that noth-



THE SCHOOLMASTER
From a pamphlet by A. Dürer

ing is so important as the proper training of the young, and nothing so menaces the Gospel as the neglect of this and the schools.

Of greatest importance, however, was his "Appeal to the Councillors of All Cities in German Lands to Establish and Maintain Christian Schools," which he issued in the beginning of 1524. This appeal is so beautiful and to the point, and filled with such burning love for the young and the people, that to the present day it ought to be brought into every evangelical home. Schools must be established, he shows, 1) in order to destroy the work of the devil, who rejoices over nothing more than that good schools fall into decay or are not newly established. "Such sly, secret, insidious temptation by the devil must be frustrated with great Christian zeal. Dear Sirs, must so much money annually be spent for rifles, highways, thoroughfares, dams, and the like unnumbered things, so that a city might enjoy temporal peace and comfort, why should not at least as much be invested in the needy, poor youth, by engaging one or two able men as teachers? When one gulden is spent to war against the Turks,

would it not be better to spend one hundred gulden to train one lad to become a true Christian, since one true Christian is better and more useful than all men on earth? Where formerly a citizen spent so much money and goods for indulgence, masses, cloisters, pilgrimages, etc., how much more should he not give today for schools, now after the light of the Gospel has come, and he has been rescued from robbers? Why, do you not see, that where men oppose, complain, struggle, and tear about it, the devil reigns!" 2) Schools must be established, in order that the grace of God which we received be not received in vain, and the blessed age, which God has now given us in His Gospel, be not lost (2 Cor. 6:1, 2). "May we remember our former misery in which we lived. I think, that Germany has never before heard so much of God's Word as now. If we permit this to pass by without gratitude and honor, we are in danger of suffering even worse darkness and plague. Beloved Germans, buy while the market is open, gather while the sun shines and the weather is good, make use of God's grace and Word,

as long as you have it. For this you shall know, God's Word and grace is like a fleeing shower, which does not return, where once it has been. It has been with the Jews, but past is past, they have nothing. St. Paul brought it to Greece, but here, too, past is past, now they have the Turk. Rome and Latin land also had it. Past is past, they now have the pope. And you Germans need not think, that you will always have it. For ingratitude and contempt will drive it away. Therefore take hold and hold fast, whoever can. Idle hands must have a rotten year." 3) Schools must be established, in order the better to obey God's express command (Deut. 6:5, etc., Ps. 78:5, etc.). "What do we older folks live for, if not for the care of the young, to teach and train them." In addition to these three reasons, which above all things should persuade us to establish Christian schools, Luther calls attention to the animal world, which trains its young, and to the example of the ancient Romans, who so carefully taught their boys. Of those in power he demands the establishment of schools, because parents so often are not

sufficiently pious and well-thinking, or too unskilled, or burdened by too much other work, to fulfill this duty towards their children, and because cities and states themselves can not thrive without well trained and educated citizens. "The prosperity of a city does not depend on the accumulation of great riches, the building of walls and houses, many guns and armors. Indeed, where there is much of this, and fools come into power, the loss of such a city is all the greater and worse. Rather is this a city's greatest and best prosperity, salvation and power, that it has many fine, learned, sensible, righteous, well trained citizens. These can then gather riches and all kinds of goods, keep, and properly use it."

When Luther thus emphasizes the establishment of Christian schools, he has in mind especially the higher schools, the municipal Latin schools. For this reason he shows, how the care of these must first of all redound to the Gospel and the Church. Here the ancient languages are studied, and without the proper knowledge of these, there is no true and independent explanation of the



COLLOQUY OF MARBURG
After the painting of A. Noack

Scriptures, nor yet a decided refutation of false teachers. The ancient languages are the sheath, in which the knife of the Spirit, namely the divine Word, is sheathed, the case, in which the treasure reposes, the vessel, in which the drink is kept. Since God has restored the languages, we again possess the Gospel in truth and purity. Then the higher schools are also indispensable for the secular government, for as the Church gains her future pastors from them, thus the state its officers and councillors. Germany especially, Luther said, "needs abler men than before. "All the world calls us the German beasts. We have been German beasts too long. Let us for once use reason, so that God will notice our gratitude for His gifts, and other countries see, that we are also human beings, who either learn useful things from them, or teach them to them, so that the world derives a benefit from us also."

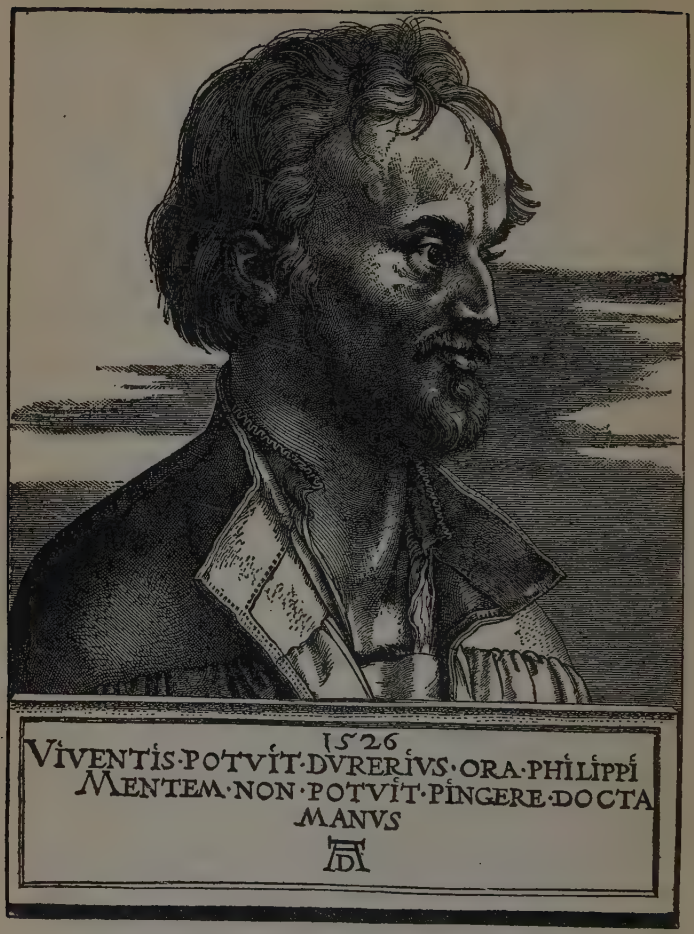
But if Luther here primarily had the Latin schools and higher schools in general in mind, he had not entirely forgotten the common school. For he also says, that all boys should attend school at least two hours per

day, and the girls one hour. More than that would have been impossible in those days.

Luther also knows the objections that are raised against his proposition, and refutes them. Thus he writes, "Yes, you say, every man may teach his boys and girls himself, and carefully train them." Answer: "One readily sees how this is done! And when this training is carefully and successfully done, the result is nothing more than a little external and righteous polish, otherwise they are the same blockheads, who know nothing of this or that, and can counsel and help no one. But when they are taught and trained in schools or otherwise, where there are learned and decent masters and mistresses, who teach languages and other arts and histories, there they would hear the history and wisdom of all the world, what happened to this city, this empire, this prince, this man, this woman, and could thus in short time see the whole world from the very beginning, essence, life, counsel and purpose, success and failure as in a mirror. They could then mould their thoughts accordingly, and in the fear of God, adjust themselves to the course

of things, and become witty and prudent." And another objection makes no impression upon him. "You say, Yes, who can spare his children and train them to become squires. They must work at home, etc. Answer: And that is not my intention, that children be sent to school for the entire day. Let the boys attend school an hour or two per day, and work the rest of the time at home, learn a trade, etc. Do they not spend about ten times as much time otherwise, shooting tadpoles, playing ball, running, and wrestling? And a little maid surely has so much time, that she can spend an hour per day at school, and yet look after her work at home, especially since she sleeps, dances, and plays away much more time."

Luther's appeal was not in vain. More than 300 higher schools were either newly established or reformed in the cities of Germany from 1524 to 1600! Luther's distinguished friend, Melanchthon, wrote a plan of study for these schools, which was widely introduced. And by means of this the Gospel secured a lasting place in them. They were not only generally opened and closed



PHILIPP MELANCHTHON
Copper engraving by Albrecht Dürer, 1526

with singing and praying, and conducted from the evangelical point of view, but the pupils were taken to all services on Sunday and week days, and one whole day was set aside for religious instruction, so that the "fear of God, faith, and good works" might abound.—In the villages people for the first must be content, that the sexton taught the children to read, taught them the catechism, and practiced the singing of Church hymns with them. Even though it remained for a later time to establish real common schools, as we understand them, yet the beginnings of these lay in those city schools which Luther proposed, with their two hours' instruction per day for the boys and one hour for the girls, and the rural schools conducted by sextons. So Luther, indeed, can not without any more ado be regarded as the founder of the present evangelical common school, still the foundation and the germlike beginnings of this were, indeed, given by him.

Luther also laid so much stress on higher schools for another reason, because in them he saw the nurseries for future evangelical

pastors. These were everywhere much in demand, and who else should furnish them but Luther, through whose preaching evangelical congregations sprang up here and there? Indeed the University of Wittenberg at the time was filled with evangelical theologians, Luther and Melanchthon above all others, but attendance at the university, demanded a successful Latin school training to precede it.

Of course, there were many able and scholarly men among the Roman priests in Luther's day, but as to the learning of the great majority of them, especially in rural districts, things looked bad. During the visitation of churches and schools a priest was found at Seubtendorf, who was not even in possession of a Bible, since he had lost his Bible in a fire 26 years before (!). The priest at Elsnig could recite his Lord's Prayer and the creed only in broken words! Another applied for a pastorate who did not know the Ten Commandments, and had not looked into a book for six years! Coupled with the ignorance there was indolence and unfaithfulness. The priest of Oberladlau had not

said Mass in three years. In Oberwierau the peasants refused to pay their fees to the priest, because he, too, celebrated no Mass. The one in Fuchshain had not preached for years. Many took better care of the chase than the sacred office. Some carried on trades, especially such as conducting public bars, and the number of drinkers among them was alarmingly large. No wonder that in the Dueben parish there were often but three persons in church out of a total of 110 families, and that in Sueptitz and Muckrohna the church had been selected to store the Whitsuntide ale (Pfingstbier), and that people refused to learn the Lord's Prayer because of "its length." Especially horrifying were the sins of priests against the sixth commandment. At the visitation it turned out to be an almost general fact that priests lived together with their housekeepers, or in open concubinage. Among the priests in the diocese of Meiszen and Voigtland only one was legally married. The priest of Lucka even had three living wives.

There, indeed, a reformation was much in place, and many, many new men were

needed. Of the old pastors those were retained who accepted the Gospel, possessed the necessary knowledge, married, or lived a chaste life, and they were furnished with the necessary books. The others were discharged. In crowds the new pastors went forth from Wittenberg, after they had studied especially the Scriptures under Luther and Melanchthon, and had learned something of the high calling of evangelical preachers. The salary was usually very small, and the parsonages often even worse. But the most of them had also learned in Luther's and Melanchthon's school, that the holy office does not exist for the sake of temporal gain. In one respect they were safeguarded from the beginning against temptation: celibacy had been abrogated, and the marriage of clergymen was looked upon as purely evangelical. Luther himself had married in 1525 (More of this later!), and in his married life had given evangelical parsonages an example of purity, simplicity, and faithful fulfillment of duty, for imitation.

25. Luther Separates from the Swiss Because He Can Not Deny God's Word.

LIKE in Wittenberg there also arose a reformatory movement in Switzerland. Its leader and representative was Huldreich Zwingli. Zwingli was born January 1, 1484, at Wildhaus, the son of a well-to-do peasant, a land owner, and had lived a carefree youth in the schools of Basel and Bern, and at the Universities of Vienna and Basel. Convinced of the necessity of a reformation of the Church by one of his teachers, Zwingli during his pastorate at Glarus (1506-1516) found himself in trouble with the pope, though not about a religious question but one of a political nature. His connection with Erasmus also kept alive and strengthened the thought of the necessary reforms in the Church. Called to Mariae Einsiedeln (1516-1518), he was especially in a position to see the evil conditions of the whole Roman Catholic system. He now began to preach the Gospel, and to call away the souls from Mary and the saints to Christ. 1519 he be-

gan his work at Zuerich, where he had been called by the city councillors as parish priest, and thus intrusted with the pulpit and pastoral work among the people. Carried away by Luther's heroic procedure he here publicly antagonized popery, opposed the ecclesiastical mandate for fasting, and, in the Zuerich disputation, 1523, defended the Gospel with such ability, that the city council declared, that from now all preachers must preach the Gospel. And since changes in the forms of service now also became imperative Zuerich undertook to make these, but proceeded much more radically than Wittenberg: pictures and images, organs, the singing by the choir, processions, the whole form of Mass, etc., all this was abrogated and done away with.

In matters of doctrine Zwingli depended upon Luther in so far, that he taught the doctrine of justification by faith through the grace of God in Jesus Christ. But he did not see sin in its whole depth, looked upon Christ, indeed, as our only redeemer, yet with still greater stress taught Christ as the proclaimer of the divine will. The number

of those who are saved, he taught, was determined from eternity (arbitrary predestination). It soon became apparent also that in his doctrine of the means of grace, and the person of Christ, he was led rather by reason than by the Word of God.

When Carlstadt separated from Luther in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ under the bread and wine, Zwingli took him under his protection, since he himself regarded the Lord's Supper as merely a memorial, and the sacrament (including baptism) as only a sign of divine gifts, which, however, are not present. This resulted in a number of controversial writings between Luther and Zwingli, in which they came together with terrific impact. Zwingli appealed to John 6, while Luther stood squarely on the words of institution, and maintained, that from these only we can learn, what Christ would give us in Holy Communion. These are words of a testament, declared Luther, in which He gives to us His last will. A last will, however, does not employ metaphorical language. Here

all things must be taken as they read. If these words were used in a parable then, perhaps, one might interpret the words, "this is my body" as meaning "this signifies or represents my body"; but they are not used in a parable. And when Zwingli claimed, Christ could not communicate His body, since, according to His humanity, He was locally inclosed in heaven, Luther showed, that the exalted Christ is just as omnipresent according to His humanity as He is according to His divinity, and thus can well do what He said in the institution of His communion.

But in view of the fact that in the controversy with Rome much depended on a united Protestantism, and one divided into two mutually exclusive camps endangered the cause, the Landgrave Philipp of Hesse arranged for a personal meeting of Zwingli and Luther and their friends at Marburg in Hesse (1529). This meeting was called the Marburg Colloquy. Luther went to Marburg with great reluctance, for to him the matter seemed hopeless. But after he had consented, he said, "The God of all mercy and unity grant His Spirit, that we do not



COBURG CASTLE
Modern View



THE CHANCELLOR OF SAXONY, DR. CHRIST. BEYER, READS THE EVANGELICAL CONFESSION AT THE DIET OF AUGSBURG

meet in vain, but for profit and not for mischief!" Zwingli, however, entered upon the Landgrave's idea with zeal, though he did not at first approve of Marburg as the proper place of meeting, for he hoped to bring the Landgrave to his side, and perfect a political alliance with him against the pope, even though no union resulted with Luther. For Zwingli had ever been a politician.

The meeting took place near the end of September. Both parties were represented by a goodly number of theologians, and many of the nobility had also come. Friday, October 1, there followed a preliminary, private discussion between Luther and Oekolampadius (who stood on Zwingli's side) and Melanchthon and Zwingli. Saturday and Sunday the great public discussion took place. On the part of the Wittenberg theologians Luther seemed to be the only one who spoke, whereas Zwingli and Oekolampadius spoke for the Swiss. However positive they were, yet they discussed the controversial doctrine in a fraternal spirit. Oekolampadius and Zwingli again appealed to John 6, especially to the word, "the flesh profiteth

nothing," and claimed that the words of the institution of Holy Communion must be understood from this point of view, and therefore they could not speak of a real presence of the body and blood of Christ, for if the flesh profiteth nothing, how can Christ give us His flesh to eat in Holy Communion? Luther fully conceded that John 6 does not teach a bodily but a spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ, i. e., in metaphorical language tells us, that faith receives the blessed fruits which Christ merited for us; but, he continued, if Christ speaks of no more in this case, how does this prove that in the words of the institution also, He does not speak of the greater? The words of institution must be read by themselves, since they are so clear and distinct. Even though otherwise the flesh profiteth nothing, in communion it is not a matter of ordinary flesh, but of such, united and combined with the Lord's word and prophecy. Here the Swiss reiterated their assertion, that Christ according to His body is locally included in heaven, and therefore can not be present in communion, but they could not prove this to Luther from the

Bible. Luther on his part repeatedly stressed the fact, that the words of institution were proof enough for his position. And finally the colloquy was terminated without arriving at unity.

At Zwingli's request Luther put down the points in which the Wittenbergers and the Swiss agreed. Luther hereby utilized the Schwabach Articles which he had formulated at another occasion for another purpose, though now somewhat revised. These consisted of fifteen propositions. The first fourteen were accepted by the Swiss. The fifteenth set forth the doctrine of communion. Here also several points at least could be posited as the concurring opinion of both parties: 1) The sacrament must be celebrated under both forms. 2) Mass (communion) is no work, by means of which the priest merits grace for the quick and the dead. 3) The spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ is especially necessary for every Christian. 4) The sacrament through the Holy Spirit serves to bring weak consciences to faith. Then, however, it is stated that in

the question, whether the body and blood of Christ are really present under the bread and wine, there was no agreement. Yet the statement adds, "Each party, however, shall exercise Christian charity towards the other, just so that the conscience is not violated, and both fractions shall diligently petition God, the Almighty, to ratify the proper understanding through His Spirit."

And now by reason of the fact that the Swiss accepted fourteen of the points submitted by Luther, which treated of so important and fundamental doctrines, as the Trinity, original sin, faith and justification, good works, the Word of God and baptism, they expected and begged the Wittenbergers to recognize them as brethren in faith and creed, and also permit them at their altars in holy communion. But Luther and his followers could not concede this. To them the discrepancy in the doctrine of communion was just important enough to refuse to the Swiss the hand of brotherhood in the sense in which they demanded it. Of course, they recognized them as Christian brethren, but not as brethren in the same household of



LUTHER IN THE YEAR 1525
After a painting by L. Cranach



FRAU KÄTHE

After a painting by L. Cranach, 1526

faith. The Word of God was too clear and distinct for them in this matter of communion. Whoever will not concede the real presence of the body of Christ in communion, in their eyes, was disobedient to the Word of God. But whoever will not obey the Word of God is not worthy of the brotherhood of faith and confessions. How, indeed, could they meet with the Swiss at the communion rail, and thus affirm a unity in the faith before the world, when in the very doctrine of communion the difference existed? Where then is truth? Indeed, Zwingli said, "There are no people in the world with whom I would rather unite than with the Wittenbergers;" but Luther answered, "You have a different spirit than we," and with his friends he could not understand, how the Swiss could reject and combat his doctrine of communion, and yet look upon him as a brother in the faith.

Thus the real purpose of the Marburg Colloquy was frustrated, and the evangelical parties continued divided. Luther could not act otherwise than he did. How could he, who had ever in all things appealed to the

Word of God, now deviate from the Word of God, or at least present its clear statements as negligible and non-essential? In Marburg he had written the words, "This is my body" on the table before him, and obedience to these words would not permit him to unite with Zwingli.

26. Luther's Confession Is Submitted to the Emperor and the Estates by the Evangelical Princes at Augsburg, and thus the Evangelical Church Founded (1530).

NEARLY nine years had elapsed since the Diet at Worms and Luther's condemnation, when the Emperor Charles V. again prepared to come to Germany, and, as was expected, would finally solve the ecclesiastical and religious question. The proclamation, in which from Italy he convoked a new diet at Augsburg, sounded peaceable beyond expectation. The Emperor admonished and promised in regard to religion "to lay aside discord, refrain from antagonism, submit past errors to our Redeemer, and be diligent to understand the opinion and intention of the other one in all charity and good will, and to consider and intend to do away with all things that have not been properly interpreted on either side." Since, according to this proclamation, "the opinion and intention of every one" should be heard, it

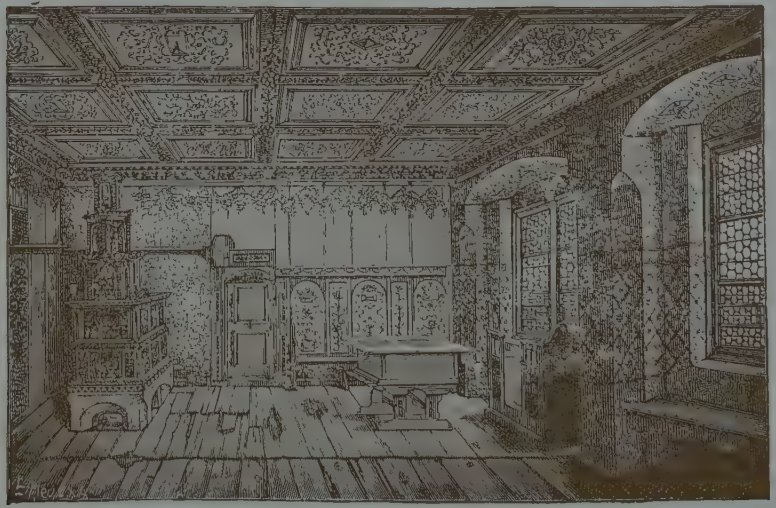
seemed advisable, to have at hand a short synopsis of the things that were taught and preached in Saxony. The Elector, accordingly, commissioned Luther, Justus Jonas, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen, to compose a brief of the articles in controversy, "both of faith and external ceremonies." They fulfilled the command immediately, but limited themselves to the abrogation of the abuses in divine worship and Church life which the evangelical party had perfected, since as they thought, the doctrine which they preached had already been recognized by the Roman opponent, as "Christian and comforting." This document (the Torgau Articles) the Elector afterwards took with him to Augsburg.

April 3, 1530, Luther with Melanchthon, and Justus Jonas, left Wittenberg, to accompany the Elector. Others joined them on the way. April 15 they arrived at Coburg. Here the Elector reached the boundaries of his country, and since Luther was still outlawed, it was a question whether he could take him any farther without endangering his life. He would have been glad to have

him in his presence during this troublous time. To take him to Augsburg was out of the question; but he would gladly have had him in Nuernberg, which was closer to Augsburg. But things came otherwise, and Luther remained at Coburg. And now during the time when his Elector and friends journeyed to Augsburg to the diet, there to champion their and his case, and ultimately the case of the gospel, he spent some time in beautiful Coburg castle as before at Wartburg, in solitude, and under much prayer and temptation.

At Coburg Melanchthon made revisions in the aforesaid brief concerning changes made in public worship and church life in electoral Saxony. They had no sooner arrived at Augsburg when it became apparent that they could not content themselves with this. They were asked to submit a brief of the doctrine, a real confession of faith. The Bavarian Dukes had commissioned their theologians to compile all the statements, which Luther had made during the past twelve years, and to show their opposition to the faith of the

Church. And Johann Eck, Luther's old opponent, had already compiled 404 articles, which "disturbed the peace of the Church," put Luther on a par with sects of ancient and modern times, and had dedicated the documents to the Emperor. Thus Melanchthon was also commissioned by his Elector to compile briefly the articles of faith and doctrine. He here employed the articles of Schwabach and Marburg, written by Luther. That he took notice of Eck's document, is self-evident. May 11 the Elector could send the document to Luther for his inspection, who returned it May 15 with the remark, "I have read Philipp's written defense; it pleases me very much, and I find nothing to change or to improve upon; furthermore, it would hardly be advisable, for I can not step so softly and quietly. May Christ, our Lord, help, that it bring forth much and great fruit, as we hope and pray. Amen." That, of course, was not the final form, in which the confession was submitted to the Emperor. Not only that a number of articles were still lacking, but many changes were made by Melanchthon. And between May 15, when



LUTHER'S LIVING-ROOM

Luther and his wife liked to sit near these bay windows, from which they had a view over the courtyard.



LUTHER IN THE YEAR 1535
After a painting by L. Cranach

Luther wrote his letter, and June 25, when the document was publicly read, so many important events transpired, so much weakness and selfishness became apparent, that Luther from his solitude, where he wrestled with God, found himself constrained ever and again to admonish and rebuke, strengthen and encourage.

The confession was originally prepared as a written defense of the Saxon Elector, who intended thereby to justify himself before the Emperor, for permitting evangelical preaching in his lands. But now other evangelical princes and representatives of free cities were present at Augsburg, who were anxious to unite with the Elector, and to subscribe to the Saxon confession. One would have expected the Elector gladly to accede to this, but at first he only thought of himself and refused to accede. But when the Emperor suddenly changed his attitude to one which boded no good, the Elector united with Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Braunschweig-Luneburg, Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the representatives of

the cities of Nuernberg and Reutlingen, and also with Electoral-prince John Frederick and Duke Francis of Lueneburg (others came later) in order to submit the confession together. Melanchthon's arbitrariness and his fear of the Emperor caused the most trouble. It required not only firmness on the part of those in Augsburg, but also forcible letters on Luther's part, so that the great moment would not pass away without being properly utilized, or only result in a weak retreat before the Emperor and a relinquishing of the ground gained during the past nine years. May 27, Luther wrote to Melanchthon, "I despise the miserable cares, which, as you write, my dear Philipp, consume you; that you permit them so to rule in your heart is not due to the greatness of the cause at hand, but the greatness of our unfaithfulness. The same matter was far greater with Hus and many others than it now is with us. However great it may be, great is He also, who has begun and now leads it. For this is not our matter. If it is wrong we will revoke it; if it is right, we make Him a liar who will have us be of good

cheer, yes like those asleep. For so He says, Commit your cares to the Lord. Did He there, perhaps, speak in vain, or is He throwing it before the beasts? I, too, often experience a trembling, but not for any length of time. You are bothered by your philosophy, but not by your theology. What can the devil do worse than murder us? I conjure you, you are so brave in all other things, be brave also against yourself, your worst enemy, who gives to the devil so much power against you. Christ died once for our sins, but truth and righteousness He will never die for, but lives and reigns. If that is true, why should we fear for truth? But God will, perhaps, permit it to be crushed to the ground in His wrath? Very well, then we will be crushed down with it, but not through us! He, who has become our father, will be also the father of our children. I myself—whether this be stupidity or spirit with me, Christ knows, feel but little unrest on account of this matter, yes, I am of greater hope than I had hoped. God is powerful enough to awaken the dead, and also powerful enough to maintain His cause; if it falls,

to raise it again, and to further it, when it stands. If we are not worthy, then let others do it. If we find no consolation in His promises, who else in the world should be comforted? . . . Christ comfort, strengthen, and teach you through His Spirit! Amen. But if I hear that matters are going wrong or bad with you, I shall hardly be able to restrain myself, and not fly over to you, to see, how horribly Satan's teeth do bite."

Finally, in spite of the reluctance of the Emperor, it came about that on the 25th of June the confession of evangelical Germany (exclusive of the upper German cities of Strassburg, Lindau, Memmingen, and Constanz, which inclined to the Zwinglian views) was solemnly read in the German language before the Emperor and the dignitaries of the realm. That was the birthday of the evangelical Church. There were individual evangelical congregations before this time, and in some sections the evangelical religion was the only one authorized, but here the evangelical princes and cities with their counsellors and theologians had united in the face of the Em-

peror and the realm, and together confessed the evangelical doctrine which they believed, and declared not to deviate therefrom. The one man in Worms had become a great Church of confessors.

And whose confession was it, which they confessed June 25, 1530? Was it not Luther's confession? It was his according to its fundamental thoughts, his according to the faith professed, his as the result of his indefatigable supplication, with which he strengthened them in the conflict, like Moses had aided the children of Israel in their conflict with the Amalekites. When later this confession came to his hand, he thought Ps. 119:46 was now fulfilled. We understand, therefore, why he occasionally called it "my confession."

27. Luther's Home Life.

LUTHER was still on the Wartburg when he wrote his book on monastic vows, and showed conclusively, that and why no one who has taken upon himself the monastic vow of celibacy for life, is still bound to it, when he has attained the evangelical understanding. He also rejoiced when his friends made use of this freedom, and encouraged them. Still he himself remained unmarried for a number of years. Catholics should remember this, when they scoff and say that it was only in order to marry, that Luther left the convent. He remained unmarried for years, though many conditions suggested marriage to him. He still lived in the cloister even after he had discarded the cowl. But here with the desolation of the cloister —besides him none lived there but the aged prior—and the drying up of its sources of income, even the most necessary things were lacking. Thus for a whole year he had no one to make up his bed for him. Worn out



LUTHER DEVOTED TO MUSIC AMONG THE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY

The father accompanies his four oldest children on the lute. Little Margaret sits on mother's lap. Melanchthon is a silent listener. After an oil painting by A. Spangenberg.



LUTHER WITH HIS DEAR ONES DELIGHTS IN LISTENING TO THE TINY LITTLE BIRDS, FREE OF CARE

with the day's labor he usually fell upon it. And he was a friend of social intercourse, and rejoiced in having his friends with him, to show his hospitality and be merry with them. Of course, this must needs cease in his cloister. It was not a rare occurrence that during his solitudes, periods of melancholy and heavy temptation came over him. And finally some of his foes threw his celibacy up to him, and mocked and scoffed him for not daring to do what he had advised others to do. Still as late as November, 1524, he wrote, "I am like the creature in the hands of the Lord, whose heart He can kill and revive at any moment; but as my heart hath stood hitherto and now is, it will not happen that I take to myself a wife. Not as though I never felt my flesh and sex, for I am neither wood nor stone; but marriage is foreign to my thoughts, for daily I await the death and well-merited punishment of the heretic."

And if in spite of this he did marry the year following (1525), this was not due to a sudden bursting forth of passion, for he had not only calmly married Ave von Schoenfeld,

whose beauty he admired, to another shortly before, but he had also known her who became his wife for two years at Wittenberg, without in the least finding himself attracted. And since she mourned for a long time, because a wealthy Nuernberg gentleman, H. Baumgaertner, had jilted her, Luther would gladly have married her to a pastor named Glatz. But Katharina von Bora—that was her name, some time before she had fled from a convent and lived quietly and honorably at Wittenberg—refused, and complained to Luther's friend, Amsdorf, that Luther desired her to marry Glatz, whom she would not have. But, she added voluntarily and candidly, that she would be willing to marry him (Amsdorf) or Luther himself. Luther heard of this through Amsdorf. He must have regarded it as the finger of God, for now in his letters he makes allusions, that he, too, might marry. Various things combined to bring about the change of opinion. Katharina was deserted in a twofold way. She had been put into a cloister by her family, and now was also deserted by Baumgaertner, whom she had sincerely

loved. Luther himself at a later occasion remarked, that the thought of this, also moved him in his marriage with Katharina von Bora. Then, too, the time had come to answer them with deeds who charged him with fearing to do himself, what he had counselled others to do, or to show the others who claimed, that he would destroy his own work if he married, for then it would seem that after all he only left the cloister as a matter of fleshly lust, that he was justified in taking this step, and his work would endure. Over against these charges he looked upon his marriage as a duty, and a part of his reformatory labor.

As soon as this had become clear to him, he, now 42 years of age, quickly brought his resolution to a focus. And on account of the two last-named reasons he was much concerned about taking this important step in the full glare of publicity. In Luther's day full participation of the Church in a marriage postulated a twofold procedure, 1) a copulation through the priest, which might be done at home, and 2) sooner or later, a solemn presentation and blessing of the mar-

riage in church. Thus June 13, Luther invited Bugenhagen, the pastor of the parish church at Wittenberg; Jonas, provost of the Capitulary of All Saints; Dr. Apel, professor of jurisprudence at the university, and his friend Lukas Cranach to dinner, and here was married to Katharina von Bora by Bugenhagen. June 27 the public attendance at church and a wedding took place, to which many friends and also his parents were invited. And wedding presents, too, were not lacking.

His marriage created a great commotion, ridicule and scorn on the part of his foes, many doubts on the part of his friends, and also among such who had previously counselled him to marry. He himself retained his composure. He wrote to Spalatin, "I have made myself so low and contemptible through my marriage, that I hope the angels will laugh and the devils weep. The Lord lives, and He who is in us, is greater than he who is in the world." (1 John 4:4.) He had never looked upon marriage as a paradise, but had always emphasized that in marriage husband and wife must bear many things in

common, and mutually bear many things in each other. And the faults of his wife—arbitrariness, and penury—he neither denied to himself nor to her, least of all his own



LUTHER'S HOME

The Old Black Cloister. (After a drawing of G. A. Lehmann)

faults, especially his hot temper. But he always thanked God for the great treasure which he had in her. His former repugnance to her had changed to a real affection even before his marriage. Twelve years after his marriage, he still said, "God be

praised, I succeeded very well, for I have a pious and faithful wife, on whom a man's heart may well rely, as Solomon said. (Proverbs 31:11.) O dear Lord God, marriage is not an unnatural thing, but a gift of God, the very sweetest, most chaste life, far superior to all celibacy, when it turns out well; but the very hell on earth when it turns out bad." He never permitted this new estate to draw him away from his great reformatory work.

The new couple lived in the former cloister, in which Luther during the past years had been practically alone, and which the last cloister associate, the aforementioned Prior Brisger, had left to take charge of a pastorate. And here Luther continued to live. But he had the old cloister arranged for the needs of a family. At a later date he purchased the adjoining garden and a few others, and some land besides. The cloister from former years also possessed the franchise to brew beer. Luther's wife, who was of an eminently practical turn, and understood how to make use of every legitimate source of income, like many other private

persons of the day, made an exhaustive use of this privilege. The Elector furnished the malt. We can understand how this household included cattle, hogs, horses, and chickens, and that there were many servants. The housewife was assisted by the nieces and "Muhme Lehne," an aunt of Luther's wife, who left the cloister at the same time when Katharina did.

Before his marriage Luther's salary was 100 gulden (= about $50.00, but with a purchasing power twenty times as great as today), free home and board. After his marriage this was doubled. 1532 it was increased to 300 gulden, 1536 to 400 gulden, of which 300 were paid in cash. In addition to this, he received many presents, cups, rings, chains, and other jewelry, and presents also for the kitchen. And the electoral wine cellars were open to him at all times. Luther's wife, no doubt, spoke the truth, when she said, Luther, if only he would, might have been a rich man. But Luther cared nothing for gold, now no more than before. He had done the pulpit work of the Wittenberg parish church from 1516 on for many years

free of charge, he had also refused all compensation for his many books, although in the year 1536 alone his publisher offered him 400 gulden. He would not "sell God's free gifts," for the simple reason that God had rescued him from popery. "I have enough," he said at the time, "and thank God who has given me wife and child, and a happy mind. And the Elector voluntarily gives me 300 gulden per year. In former days I sometimes said, after I am married I will take money for my lectures, but since God has always provided for me through the Elector, I have never sold a manuscript, nor delivered a lecture for money all my life. I will also die with this glory: 'Having food and raiment let us be therewith content'." At another time he said in a similar connection, "He who has Christ has enough."

At the same time Luther was very benevolent and generous. Not only that, he often had many friends from far and near at his table, oftentimes for weeks. Many students would have been forced to give up their studies, pastors without charges would have suffered real want, had he not sup-

ported them, or often taken them into his house altogether. At one time he said to his wife, who was ofttimes dissatisfied with her husband's hospitality, "Give, and you shall receive—that is a true word, and one that makes the world rich or poor. Those who give nothing to leave it to their children, retain nothing. Poverty comes over them, as it has come over many rich and still comes. Misers and Turks amass wealth for their children, but the old saw is true, The third generation will no longer enjoy goods wrongfully acquired. But he who gives will receive. My house observes this rule. I will not boast, but I know how much I give in my house each year. Chancellor Brueck said, if the Elector were to give him the income of a nobleman, his house could not stand the pressure of generosity, and yet his income does not exceed 300 gulden a year. But God gives enough and blesses it, and I, too, will give. Dear Kaethe, if our money ever is exhausted, we will have to sell our cups. We must continue to give, and if we ourselves have wishes then still more."

Thus when he sat at his table with guests

and friends, he loved to lead in conversation, and it happened that he came to all spheres of life and his own times. Students and other admirers took down their notes, most of which have been transmitted to our day and are called "Table Talks."

God blessed Luther with three boys (John, Martin, and Paul) and three girls (Elizabeth, who died in her infancy; Magdalene and Margaret). In training them Luther thought of his own experiences, which he had made in his youth, and thus sought ever to temper his strictness, with which he sought to break their selfwill, with the necessary mildness. At one time for three days he refused to pardon his son Hans, though he begged the father's forgiveness, and his wife and several friends also spoke for him. He declared, he would rather have a son dead than disobedient. It is not in vain that the Apostle Paul demands that a bishop (i. e., pastor) must be a man "who ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection in all gravity" (1 Tim. 3:4). On account of "lying and theft" he meant severely to punish his nephew for

three consecutive days. The rogue (der Bube) had taken a small knife from one of his playmates and claimed it as his own. But then again he could also joke and play with his children, so that in all their little troubles they came to him "with all cheerfulness and confidence," and poured out their hearts to him. How he, the scholarly and erudite theologian, could speak to the little ones in a childlike way, is proven by the letter which he wrote to his little son Hans from Coburg, 1530. This letter is so precious that we can not but add it here.

"Grace and peace in Christ, dear little son. I am glad to hear that you are studying and saying your prayers. Continue to do so, my son, and when I come home I will bring you a pretty present.

"I know a lovely, pleasant garden where many children are. They wear golden jackets and gather nice apples under the trees and pears and cherries and yellow and purple plums, and sing and run and are happy and have pretty little ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked the man who owned the garden whose they were. He said, 'They are for the children who say their prayers and study and are good.' Then said I, 'Dear man, I also have a son whose name is Hans Luther. May he come into the garden and eat the sweet apples and pears and ride a fine pony and play with these children?' Then the man said, 'If he says his prayers and is good, he may

come into the garden and Phil and Just too (Philippus and Justus were the boys of Melanchthon and Jonas), and when they all come they shall have whistles and drums and fifes and dance and shoot little cross-bows.' Then he showed me a fine large lawn in the garden for dancing, where hang real golden whistles and fine silver cross-bows. But it was yet early and the children had not finished eating and I could not wait to see them dance. So I said to the man, 'My Dear Sir, I must go and write at once to my dear little son Hans about all this, so that he will say his prayers and study and be good, so that he may come into the garden. And he has an Auntie Lena whom he must bring with him.' Then the man said, 'All right, go and tell him about it.' So, dear little Hans, study and say your prayers and tell Phil and Just to say their prayers and study, too, so you may all come into the garden together. God bless you. Give Auntie Lena my love and a kiss from me.

"Your loving father,

Anno 1530. "MARTIN LUTHER."

Luther's eye could rest with pious delight, yes, and with devotion on the children. "They live," said he, "so beautifully simple and pure and without any offense in their faith. In their faith they are much more learned than we old fools, trust without disputation and doubt, God is merciful, and after this life follows the eternal life. They have no cares. God gives them grace, that they would rather eat cherries than count money,

and a fine apple means more to them than a real gold gulden. They do not ask, what corn costs, for they are sure that they will find enough to eat. God, who has so beautifully formed their body and its members, will also keep and preserve them. Yes, a child has its modest parts given and assigned to it, even before it sees the light of day, as the Scriptures say and the common proverb reads: 'The more children, the more fortune!' " Playing with his little son Hans, who had dressed a doll as his bride and was protecting it, "Just so sincere and without malice would we have been in Paradise. These natural plays are the most beautiful in children. These are the dearest little clowns, the finest playing birds. They do everything in simplicity, naturally and sincerely."

His action at the early death of daughter Magdalene portrays how closely he was united with them, and yet how ready to give them back to God, if He saw fit to take them. She had been an especially pious child, and much devoted to her father. During her severe illness her father said several times,

"I would gladly keep my little daughter, for I love her very much. Oh, if our Lord God would only leave me keep her! Yet His will be done! Nothing better can happen to her." Afterwards he asked her, "Little Magdalene, my daughter, you would gladly remain with your father, but you would also gladly go to your Father in heaven?" The child answered, "Yes, dearest father, as God wills." After she had passed away in his arms, he comforted his wife and said to the sorrowing friends, "I have sent a saint to heaven. Oh, if we only might die like that. I would be willing to accept a death like that at this very hour."

None of his sons was gifted as the father had been. But all of them occupied stations of honor and trust in life and even Papists could not charge them with one flaw in character and conduct. Martin died in his thirty-third year.

In the circle of his friends Luther enjoyed and fostered music. There he often took his lute in hand and accompanied them. He especially loved singing. Church hymns and folk songs often resounded in his house. At

one time he wrote, "Music was created at the beginning of the world, and was consecrated for all creatures. Everything has its sounds. Even the air, the invisible and intangible, resounds with melody, as it moves. Even more wonderful is the music of beasts and birds, but wonderful above them all is the human voice, the artistic construction of the throat, which produces infinite wealth of sound, the power with which this music controls human affections, governs, calls them forth, and tames them. Next to the Word of God it deserves the most praise. He even glorified the noble "Mistress Music" in verse. Here among others things he says:

Of earthly joys can none be found
  More exquisite than those I bring,
When to some instrument's sweet sound
  Enchanting melodies I sing.
They cannot be in evil mood
Who find delight in music good;
Its strains will lighten sorrow's weight,
And banish envy, anger, hate;
Greed, care and all that wears the heart
Must own the spell and quick depart.

If the day afforded an hour of leisure for this busy man, he preferred to go into his garden, to rejoice in God's nature, for which he always had an open mind. He looked upon it as the kingdom of his rich God in which He placed us His children. Wherever his glance alighted he saw a sermon of God's omnipotence and wisdom, His kindness and faithfulness. Once when he held a rose in his hand he remarked, "If a man could make only one rose he should be given an empire." Among animals he loved birds most, who looked at him with their bright eyes like so many little stars. When they sat on their twigs full of contentment and suffered God to care for them, he called them the greatest doctors in the world, and said, do they not teach men much better to rely upon God and wait for His help than all human teachers taken together?

Whatever one may contemplate, the pious custom and usage, conjugal love and fidelity, the training of the little ones, the care of servants, the open door for all friends, sorrowing and poverty-stricken, the pious mind which bears the cross as coming from God,

the open and joyous mind, that loves most to enjoy God's creation, and glorifies and sings over it,—everywhere in Luther's home we see a home, which indeed is not free from sin and shortcomings, but which always presents a lofty example for every evangelical home.

28. Luther's Later Labors and Death.

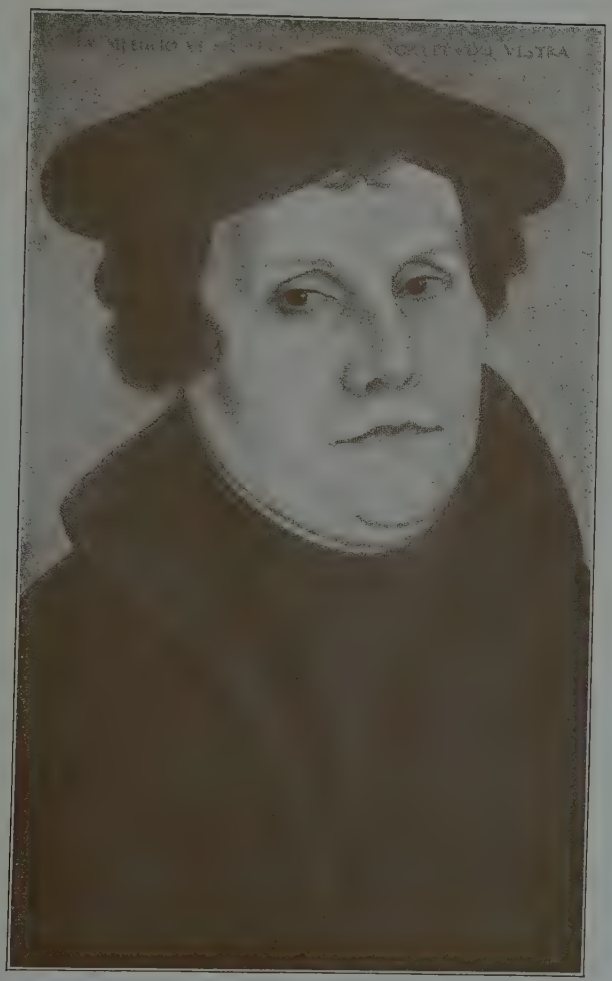
THE last sixteen years of his life afforded Luther much joy.

At the very beginning he was much pleased over Melanchthon's masterful "Apology," appended to the Augsburg Confession, in which he successfully defends it, and at the same time conclusively refutes a Catholic writing, written to confute the Augsburg Confession. He was also much pleased over the fact that the cities of upper Germany were more and more freed from the influence of Zwingli, who fell in battle in 1531, and that the Protestant princes and cities which subscribed to the Augsburg Confession, together with some others, united still more closely, though not for offensive purposes, yet for mutual defense against attacks upon the Gospel, formed the Schmalkald League (1531), though Luther could not entirely suppress his misgivings over this step. He was much pleased, that the Protestant princes at the meeting of Schmalkald, where the Schmalkald Articles,

which he had written, were submitted, resolved not to take part in the council (synod), which the pope had finally proclaimed at the instigation of the Emperor, for the purpose of adjusting the religious controversy, since it was not to be held in a German but in an Italian city, and because they would not submit to the judgment of an impenitent popery. This declaration severed the last connection between them and the old Church. But his greatest joy was the fact, that the Gospel continued its march of victory over all sections of Germany, and even beyond. The greater part of the south, reaching far into Bavaria, a great part of the east, the whole of the north, and even many sections of northwest Germany fell to the Gospel, while the Scandinavian lands had come to it even earlier. In Austria, too, and in other countries the spirit of the Gospel exercised its influence and showed its power. How this work had prospered which without knowing and wanting he had begun in 1517 as the instrument of God! How great the multitude of souls, which now knew the way of life!

Of course, experiences of the other kind were not lacking either.

Indeed, he did not regard as such the many attacks of sickness which he often experienced in these years, and which brought him to the very verge of death; for he found it only natural that God should take him, too, like any other child of God, into the school of suffering. And yet it must have been a trial for him, who was used to work, to be forced to lie idle, unable to preach for a long time, and to deliver his lectures. What hurt him much more, was the fact that opponents of infant baptism and other visionaries secured a foothold in Silesia, in many cities of southern Germany, in Hesse, etc., and that the Anabaptists in Muenster instituted a reign of terror, and blasphemed the good name of the Gospel. He also foresaw that the controversy over Holy Communion would again be waged, since even Melanchthon began to follow his own ways, and the influence of Calvin—after Zwingli the principal leader of the Reformed—was making itself felt in Lutheran sections. Especially was he distressed that in the congregations spiritual



LUTHER IN HIS LATER YEARS



LUTHER'S DEATH

life seemed so slowly to develop. And even if in his age he saw things in too dark a light, and perhaps generalized special distressing conditions in Wittenberg, yet ingratitude for the blessings of the Gospel was widespread.

Under such experiences of both a sad and joyous nature Luther's end approached. November 10, 1545, he celebrated his last birthday, to which, as was his wont, he had a number of friends. He was of good cheer. But thoughts of death also came. He felt, that he would not live to see Easter. As they parted he admonished them all to remain faithful to the Gospel. For he saw a falling away of many brethren after his death, which would give to the Gospel an even worse blow than all the crude and ignorant popists could give. Eight days later he finished his extensive commentary on the book of Genesis, to which he devoted ten diligent years. He closed it with the words, "This now is the dear Genesis. Our Lord God grant, that after me men may do things better. I can do no more. I am weak. Pray to God for me, that He will grant me a good

and blessed end." This was also the last of his lectures at the university.

In order to settle a controversy between the Counts of Mansfeld, he undertook the journey to Mansfeld in December. He would not have the Counts petition him in vain, since that was also his home, and he hoped to serve this at the same time. Thus he even celebrated Christmas far from home. That the journey in this season of the year meant much hardship for him, we can only grasp in its full extent, if we remember what he wrote to a friend about himself, January 17, "Old, worn out, indolent, tired, cold, and now even with only one eye (on account of an eye disease) I write to you, and as one who had hoped, that he might be granted the well earned rest, like one dead. But as though I had never worked, written, talked, acted, or done a thing, I am now flooded with things that must needs be written, spoken, deliberated, done. But Christ is all in all, He can and will do things." And yet, January 28 he again went to Mansfeld territory, this time to Eisleben, to settle the trouble.

On this journey and while at Eisleben he

passed no Sunday in which he did not preach. The mediation between these two parties wrangling about their territory progressed but slowly, for the jurists on both sides had many, many objections to make. February 7 Luther intended to journey home, though the controversy was not yet settled. Then God gave grace. February 14 most of the controversial points were adjusted. On the 16th a compromise was effected, and on the 17th a written agreement was made which Luther, too, signed. On account of weakness he remained in his room, sometimes reclining on his bed, sometimes walking to and fro. He often prayed at the window, sometimes dropped a word to Justus Jonas and Michael Coelius, who were with him, like the following, "Dr. Jonas and Mr. Michael, I was baptized here at Eisleben, how if I were to remain here?" In the evening he felt much oppressed, yet this soon passed away, and he slept from 9 to 10. After midnight there was a new attack, and he prayed much in short snatches. A longer prayer of this hour also has been handed down to us, "O my heavenly

Father, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Thou God of comfort, I thank Thee, that Thou hast revealed to me Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, in whom I believe, whom I preached and confessed, whom I loved and glorified, whom the abominable pope and wicked men dishonor, persecute, and blaspheme. I pray Thee Lord Jesus Christ, let my soul be commended to Thee. O my heavenly Father, even though I leave this body, and am torn from this life, yet I know and am persuaded that I shall eternally be with Thee, and that no man can wrest me from Thy grasp." John 3:16 he repeated three times; in the same manner Ps. 68:21 and other words of prayer. Jonas and Coelius asked him, "Venerable father, will you remain constant to Christ and the doctrines which you preached?" He answered plainly, "Yes." During the third hour of February 18, 1546, he passed away.

The funeral took place February 19 in the main church at St. Andrew. The day following the corpse was taken to Wittenberg. On the 22nd the funeral was conducted in the Castle Church. Bugenhagen preached, and

Melanchthon delivered a Latin address in behalf of the university. The corpse was interred beside the pulpit.

In the communication over his death made to the students of the university (February 19) there is a sentence, with which we would conclude these modest sketches of the life of one of the greatest in Israel. It runs like this, "Alas, passed away is the charioteer and chariot of Israel, who hath guided the Church in this senile period of the world. For not human sagacity hath discovered the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and trust in the Son of God, but God hath revealed it through this man, whom God Himself called forth, as we have seen. May we, therefore, love this man's memory and the doctrine which he taught, and be modest and consider the great tribulations and stupendous changes which will follow his fall. But Thou, O Son of God, Immanuel, crucified and resurrected for us, I supplicate Thee, that Thou wouldst rule Thy Church, maintain, and protect it. Amen."

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